



# newsletter

2015–2016

## Art



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Editor: Dr Svetla Baloutzova  
Design: Vesselin Pramatarov  
Printed by: Multiprint

## Academic Associates and Academic Council



The Centre for Advanced Study would like to welcome Assoc. Prof. Daniel Smilov as a new academic associate.

**Dr Smilov** holds two doctoral degrees in Law from Central European University (*Legal Regulation of Political Finance*, 1999) and University of Oxford (*Judicial Discretion in Constitutional Jurisprudence: The Constitutional Policies and Doctrines of the Bulgarian Constitutional Court*, 2003). He is a Programme Director at the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, Associate Professor of Political Science at Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski', and recurrent visiting professor at the Legal Studies Department of Central European University, Budapest. Besides being an established and prolific academic, Dr Smilov is also a recognisable media figure, widely appreciated for his balanced professional opinion.

The Centre for Advanced Study Sofia would like to graciously thank its academic associates Prof. Pepka Boyadjieva and Dr Georgi Ganev, and Dr Krassen Stanchev, member of the CAS Academic Advisory Council, for their long-term collaboration.

**Prof. Boyadjieva**, a distinguished scholar at the Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Chair of its Scientific Council, member of the General Assembly of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Honorary Professor of Sociology of Education at the University of Nottingham, UK, was with the Centre since 2005, helping to institutionally build it as a free and shared academic space for scholars from different walks of life and countries.

**Dr Ganev** joined the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia in 2008. He is a Programme Director for economic research at the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, Bulgaria, and Chair of the Governing Council of the Bulgarian Macroeconomics Association. His expertise in macroeconomics, monetary policy and theory, political economy, development and growth economics, and new institutional economics played a significant role in the Centre's academic development.

**Dr Stanchev** is an expert in economic/fiscal policy and governance, especially in reforms related to business environment improvement, privatisation and private provision of public services, property rights, SMEs and economic development and environment protection. Over the last twenty years he has gained profound knowledge of EU accession, Balkan and former Soviet Union countries, as well as experience in managing interdisciplinary teams, programmes and research in the above mentioned areas and countries. He is Chairman of the Board of the Institute for Market Economics and Associate Professor at the Department of Public Administration of Sofia University.

We are convinced that although leaving CAS, our friendly and creative relationship with Prof. Boyadjieva, Dr Ganev and Dr Stanchev will continue in the future.



# New Members of the CAS Academic Advisory Council



**Prof. Dr János Mátyás Kovács** is Professor of History of Economic Thought at the Department of Economics, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary. He graduated from the Karl Marx University of Economics (today Corvinus University), Budapest (1973), and defended his doctoral dissertation on *The Market Economy of the NEP* at the same university (1975). He was a research fellow at the Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest until 2014. He has been a Permanent Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna since 1991, and a lecturer at the Department of Economics, Eötvös Loránd University since 2014. His fields of academic interest are History of Economic Ideas in Eastern Europe, History of Communist Economies, Political Economy of New Capitalism in Eastern Europe, Post-Communist Transformations, and Institutional Economic. He serves as an editor of *Transit* (Vienna) and *2000* (Budapest).

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**Dr Carmen Scheide** is Executive Director of the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe (GCE-HSG), University of St Gallen, Switzerland. She studied Modern and East European History at the University of Munich and University of Freiburg, Germany (1987–1991), and received

her doctoral degree from the University of Basel, Switzerland (1999). In 2011, she was awarded habilitation from the University of Basel. Dr Scheide's research interests are in the field of East European History and Memory Studies, Gender and Cultural Studies, and Russia, Ukraine, and the Baltic countries. She was a researcher in the international project *Region, Nation and Beyond: An Interdisciplinary and Transcultural Reconceptualisation of Ukraine* (2011–2015), and currently, in *Contact Zones in Ukraine* (2016–2010), GCE University of St Gallen.



**Prof. Dr Ulf Brunnbauer** is Executive Director of the Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, Regensburg, and Chair of History of Southeast and East European History, University of Regensburg, Germany. He studied History, Russian Philology, Sociology and Economics at

the University of Graz, University of Salzburg, Moscow State

Linguistic University, and Russian University of the Humanities (Moscow) (1989–1995). He was awarded a doctoral degree in History from the University of Graz in 1999, and habilitation in Southeastern, Eastern and Modern History from the Free University of Berlin (2006). Prof. Brunnbauer was President of the International Association for Southeast European Anthropology (2003–2005, 2007–2011), and Member of the Executive Board of the *Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft* (2008–2015). He is Member of the Senate of the University of Regensburg (since 2011), the Advisory Board of the Institute for Danube-Swabian History and Culture in Tübingen (since 2014), and of the University Council of the University of Regensburg (since 2015).



**Prof. Dr Attila Melegh** works at the Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, and the International Studies Center at Corvinus University, Budapest. He is Senior Advisor and Project leader at the Central Statistical Office, Budapest, Hungary, and Vice president of the Steering Committee of

the European Network in Universal and Global History (Germany). He studied Sociology and Economics at Budapest University of Economics (MA, 1986), and received his doctoral degree in History from the University of Debrecen, Hungary (2002). Prof. Melegh's research interests cover Historical Demography, Demographic Discourses, International Migration, and Global Social Change. He is the Editor of the English edition of *Demográfia*, the Hungarian demographic quarterly.



**Prof. Dr Raymond Detrez** is Professor of East European History and Culture and Modern Greek History. He studied East European Languages and History at Ghent University (1967–1971), and specialised in Bulgarian Philology at Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski' (1971). He was

awarded his doctoral degree in 1986. Prof. Detrez taught History of the Balkans Conflict and Conflict Regulation in Culturally Divided Societies (School for European Studies) at the Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven (1991–1997), East European, Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek History and Culture at Ghent University (1997–2013), and was Director of the Center for Southeast European Studies at Ghent University. He has published extensively on East European and Balkan history, pre-national communities in the Balkans, Bulgarian-Greek relations in the pre-national era, and Balkan nationalism.

# How to Teach Europe in the 21st Century?

The Centre for Advanced Study Sofia is pleased to announce its new and innovative Fellowship module, *How to Teach Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, – a joint venture of the *Wissenschaftskolleg*, Berlin, and its two kindred institutions in Southeastern Europe, the Centre for Advanced Study, Sofia (CAS), and the New Europe College, Bucharest (NEC). The programme (2017–2019) targets outstanding individual researchers (mostly junior) from the humanities and social sciences from across the Eastern bloc, and intends to develop attention and expertise for transmission of knowledge and teaching. It hopes to expand the productive academic network of CAS and NEC, and also benefit scholarship and university education in the Region in a larger sense.

## Programme rationale

Modern lives are not confined by national borders any more. Mobility has become global, at least pan-European. But what about knowledge and education? How do university curricula conceive of history and culture, of law and society when the dominance of the national paradigm in textbooks, syllabuses, undergraduate courses, etc. prevents generations of students from probing the limits of the national imagination? Typically, univer-

sity systems adapt to this situation by introducing additional programs with an avowed European denomination (e.g. *European Studies*) while leaving the core of the traditional Humanities canon untouched. But twenty-first-century Europe should at least partly transcend the national framework and take some steps in the direction of a joint understanding of what it means to be European.

## Programme idea

The new Fellowship module at the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia and the New Europe College, Bucharest, positions itself at the intersection of fundamental research and higher education. On the level of research that would imply bringing transdisciplinary and transnational perspectives to bear on the way human and social sciences of today frame their fields of enquiry, thus challenging the hitherto compartmentalised structure of university teaching and education. A tangible output will be the conceptualisation of a series of new courses, state-of-the-art teaching materials, or ultimately and ideally, the development of innovative curricula for the universities of participating scholars. In substance, the programme will endorse projects centred on across-the-board themes like:

- How to teach history in the 21st century?
- Non-legal aspects of law enforcement;
- Critical perspectives to European governance;
- Contemporary forms of populism and authoritarianism; etc.

## Programme implementation

The *How-to-Teach-Europe* Fellowship programme spans a period of overall three years. Fellows (8 in total) are offered the option to spend several months during each of these three years (but in total not more than seven) at the New Europe College in Bucharest and the Centre for Advanced Study in Sofia; shorter periods in appropriate institutions in Germany may be included, depending on necessity and opportunity.

The primary target region is Southeast Europe, i.e. the Balkans and the Black Sea riparian countries, including Romania and Bulgaria; interested scholars from other European countries are also welcome to apply. Eligible are well-qualified scholars from the broad range of the humanities and social sciences; they should hold a teaching position (or be otherwise

active in science communication). If there are more equally-qualified applicants than positions available, preference will be given to representatives of minorities (these may be defined linguistically, geographically, disciplinarily, etc.).

With their joint initiative, the two small but effective Institutes for Advanced Study in Bulgaria and Romania intend to provide an incentive for excellent academics to integrate and translate their research findings into innovative teaching design. During their fellowship, Fellows can fully focus on their research and advance their own projects. At the same time, they are integrated into the stimulating, diverse academic communities at the respective institutes and thus take part in the many ways of exchange with and exposure to other (disciplinary, linguistic, cultural) traditions. They participate in and benefit from additional offers at their host institutes and the host countries – guest lectures, symposia, cultural or artistic events, etc. Once per semester, Fellows will be convened for a common seminar in either Sofia or Bucharest. At these meetings, prominent scholars and experts will provide special input (e.g., on curricular reforms, uses of modern media for teaching, transregional studies approaches or transdisciplinary methodologies). In the later phases of the support scheme, Fel-

lows will be required to present short ‘progress reports’, explaining how their research has impacted on their mode of transmitting knowledge and engaging students’ (or other listeners’/readers’) minds. At the end of their grant period, Fellows are required to submit an item that demonstrates their efforts in the form of a course description, a model lecture, a textbook, or a didactic unit employing new media. All the accepted items will be collected and presented for open access on a common web platform of CAS and NEC, under the heading *Humanities, Social Sciences: Novel Didactic Materials*.

Overall, the *How-to-Teach Europe* Fellowship programme is designed as a way to ‘export’ the two institutes’ (CAS and NEC) experience in rearing innovative and high-standard research to the broader community of university teachers and students.

# A New Fellowship for Artists

The Centre for Advanced Study is delighted to launch a new Fellowship programme (2017–2019) which targets artists from various disciplinary backgrounds – writers, musicians, painters, sculptors, actors, directors, architects, etc. – by stimulating and promoting their creative work. The programme aims to encourage a deeper interaction between theoretical research and the arts, and create an environment in which the intersection and exchange of approaches, instruments and perspectives between ‘the ratio’ and ‘the imagination’ will challenge standard assumptions, raise unexpected questions, and generate unconventional debates. This, in turn, may lead to new insights into human nature as well as the world around, thus stirring a desire for refashioning the latter and turning it into a better place to live for all of us.

Eligible applicants come from Bulgaria, Europe, and the world. Selected fellows will receive an 800 € stipend/month, in addition to a research allowance, coverage of their accommodation and travel expenses, and visa fees. During their one-term stay at CAS, fellows are expected to actively participate in the Centre’s academic life by attending social and academic events, contribute to collegial discussions, and present their work in front of a larger audience within the framework of CAS seminars and lecture series.

CAS thanks the *Landis & Gyr Foundation* (Switzerland) for making this fellowship possible.



# Does Monastic Economy Matter?

## Religious Patterns of Economic Behaviour

The Centre for Advanced Study Sofia is embarking on a new three-year project. Our long-time partner, the *Center for Governance and Culture in Europe (GCE) at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of St Gallen*, Switzerland, will fund the establishment of a *Research Network* dedicated to the history of monastic economy. CAS will assume the academic and organisational coordination, with CAS Permanent Fellow Roumen Avramov in charge of the project.

### Conceptual frame

Monastic economy has been a matter of lasting interest on the part of economists and historians. The impressive amount of descriptive literature accumulated during almost a couple of centuries sheds light on the mechanics of the economic activities carried out in those entities and puts to test a variety of theoretical hypotheses concerning fundamental aspects of economic behaviour in the *longue durée*.

The economics of Western and Orthodox monasticism are usually treated separately in academic research because of their different time frame and geopolitical setting. The *raison d'être* of the project is to adopt a comparative perspective by identifying elements of the economic culture proper to those regions and related to their monastic tradition. In broad terms, Southeastern Europe (SEE) is historically characterised by a less pronounced economic rationality, lower influence of methodological (economic) individualism, greater presence of the state

in economic affairs, and economic backwardness. To what extent and in what ways could those peculiarities and other important features be ascribed to legacies stemming from monastic life? Are some of those traits still important in today's economic cultures? The accumulated evidence has demonstrated the impact of monastic practices on behavioural patterns in the Western society while such causality is less explicit and has yet to be tested in SEE. The project will draw on the rich historical knowledge about the most important monasteries in SEE such as those of Rila and Bachkovo (Bulgaria), the monastic republic of Mount Athos (Greece), Kykkos (Cyprus), or the establishments in Moldavia and Wallachia. Here are some potential questions and areas of interest to be explored:

#### Economic Rationality

Since Max Weber's seminal works, the role of the Protestant ethic in the dissemination of rational capitalist values and practices in the West has been continuously on the focus. In contrast, different factors have delayed the spreading of rational patterns in Orthodox monasteries and hence of the capitalist ethic in this part of Europe. Among them are some doctrinal peculiarities, the blending of Orthodoxy with nationalism in the context of the Ottoman Empire's confessional and ethnic politics, or the over-reliance of Orthodox monasteries on pilgrims' and other donations, rather than on market ventures.

#### The State

Another diverging pattern concerns relations with the State. For centuries, the Western medieval



religious entities (monasteries) have operated in a spiritually coherent domain under the authority of the Papacy. Although the Reformation fragmented this space in theological and organisational terms, Christianity remained the exclusive religion there. In contrast, since the early fifteenth century, a growing part of the Orthodox world was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire where the Eastern Christian Church and its monasteries evolved into mediators between the temporal power of the Sultan and his non-Muslim, Orthodox Christian subjects in the frame of the *millet* system.

This position cultivated specific relations with the State based on mutual favours and shaped behavioural standards which circumvented the market constraints. Are sequels of this economic culture felt nowadays? The current economic crisis in Greece seems to reveal such presence. The loose fiscal discipline, for instance, might be linked, at least partly, to the long tradition of tax privileges granted to religious institutions and to the pervasive collusion with the state bureaucracy. On the other hand, the dealings of the monasteries with the State have not been cloudless. Due to ideological, political or

financial circumstances, governments have proceeded to nationalisations or other forms of expropriations of monastic assets. Secularisation policies both in the East as in the West have had devastating effects on the monastic economy and forced its eventual restructuring. Inversely, the restitution after the fall of the communist regimes in SEE has put to the fore the deficient and opaque management of monastic estates. The study of those cases could contribute to the understanding of legal and financial aspects of nationalisations and to the economics of restitution.

### The Markets

Lagging several centuries after the abbeys in the West, throughout the nineteenth century Orthodox monasteries turned into centres of burgeoning economic activities and became a driving force of the markets. They had a strong impact as land owners and managers of increasingly capitalistic estates. The wealthiest monasteries were innovators in land tenancy, the labour market, organisational models, agricultural practices or in technologies. The comparative scrutiny of Western and Orthodox practices would shed light on the asynchronous matur-

ing and the differing depth of market behavioural patterns in the two European regions.

A point of interest is the assessment of *monastic business cycles*, i.e. of recurrent periods of growth and decline of the monastic economy identified either through the fluctuating mortality rate of the establishments or by distinct phases in the history of particular institutions.

### Agency

How were the inherent agency problems of intricate structures operating across vast territories addressed? Those problems are connected, for example, to the Ottoman fiscal system where state taxation was partly conceded to the local bishop and ultimately to the Patriarchate in Constantinople. Or they could be linked to the dense network of monastic *metohi* (annexes) which constituted a realm comparable in some respects to that of today's global corporations, and whose management required new skills and financial techniques. Such kind of activities necessitated constant control and motivated the implementation of more rational principles in the handling of the monastic economy.



### Governance

A missing source for SEE is longitudinal historical data, coherent with the collected database on the Catholic (namely the Benedictine) orders. The project could envisage an effort to start building a pool of data at to more elaborate quantitative hypotheses-testing. In the meantime, case studies appear to be more reasonable comparators.

A specific feature of the Orthodox monasteries is the existence of two forms of organisation of monastic life. The *idiorhythmic* (preserving private property of the monks) and the *cenobitic* (allowing only collective property) models had specific governance rules, a propensity to innovate and a capacity to irradiate economic impulses outside their respective communities. The two types were exposed to different extent to the market environment and ultimately produced different profiles of economic behaviour. A comparative study of their economic performances could assess the appeal, the strength and influence of collectivistic management ideas, values and principles.

### Organisational Setting

The project intends to structure a *NETWORK* of researchers from SEE and Western Europe, and build a scholarly community interested in the history of the monastic economy. Our aim is to enhance the contacts, assist mobility and hence foster the intellectual debate in the field. We are going to use some of the tools that CAS has successfully handled for years: small, properly targeted and calibrated workshops; organisation of guest lectures for a well prepared and competent audience; research support to scholars in an environment and location which are appropriate to their (and the project's) agenda.

The activities of the *NETWORK* will be coordinated by a Steering committee of 4-6 senior scholars from both SEE and Western Europe. They will be responsible for the research planning, the organisational issues and the rules concerning the functioning of the *NETWORK*.

Annual workshops will be convened and a series of guest-lectures organised. The

project will close with a concluding conference bringing together all the previous participants, as well as other invitees.

Resources will be allocated to a variety of research allowances: research stays abroad or in the home country for work with archival documents; trips for interviews or visits in specific monasteries; meetings with colleagues, etc. The decisions on these points will be approved by the Steering committee after a formal application by the candidate. The common denominator of all forms of support will be the contribution to scholarly mobility, to the comparative perspective of the project, and to the communication within the *NETWORK*.

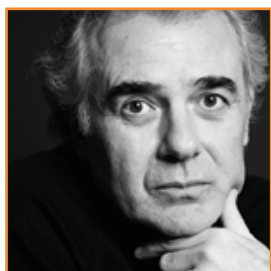
At the end of the three-year period the *NETWORK* will present its research output as a guest edited issue of a journal or a collection of papers included in a coherent, edited volume. The additional funding for this publication will be provided by CAS.



# CAS Advanced Academia Programme: Individual Fellowships 2016–2017

## Bulgarian Module

March 2016 - February 2017



**Anni Ilkov**

MA and PhD (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski')

**Affiliation:** Department of Bulgarian Literature,  
Faculty of Slavic Studies, Sofia University 'St. Kliment  
Ohridski'

**Field of Study:** Literary History; Creative Writing;  
Literature and Science; Posthumanism and New  
Humanities

**Project Title:**  
**Creative Change (The Social History of a New  
Literary Writing, 1989–2014)**

The so called 'Velvet Revolutions' in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s caused radical changes in every aspect of life. The overall aim of this study is to investigate the changes that followed in the field of literature, creative literacy and literary policy. They all were subject to deep cultural transformations – nothing was left unturned or untouched. To paraphrase Eliphas Levi, a nineteenth-century French mystic and Cabbala revivalist, they all underwent the 'saturnalia-of-freedom-come', comparable to the French revolutions in the nineteenth century.

The study begins with some research on the prehistories of a certain ('last') formative generational move in the 1980s. 'Last and lost': that is how Miglena Nikolchina, a famous Bulgarian poet, university professor and social critic, called her own literary generation.

'Last' because it preceded the downfall of the communist rule; 'lost' because its poets and writers fell into relative obscurity as a new generation – the children of the 'freedom come' – entered the literary scene in the mid-1990s. The subsequent generational gap is far from meaningless, and this project attempts to survey what exactly happened between the late 1980s and early 1990s.

'Last and lost' they might have been, but amongst them, a 'bunch of guys' dared to organise some Bulgarian Samizdat, which was scarce in Gorbachev's time, and started Circle 39, an independent intellectual association that delivered political talks and literary discussions. Circle 39 organised the initially banned Great Poetry Reading of dissident authors in the emblematic 65 Auditorium of Sofia University in late 1989. Thus, my proposed study targets the literary development in Bulgaria in this crucial period of vast historical changes; it is interdisciplinary in nature, as it touches upon social history and cultural study. In addition, it also includes my personal account as both a participant in and eyewitness of the process. I attempt to both research and recollect some of the agencies and agents of this historical change.

An important source for analysis is *Literaturen Vestnik* (Literary Newsletter) – an immensely influential newsletter in cultured circles, academia and (though secretly) amongst politicians. Its first issue was on February 21st, 1991. It soon became an institution in its own right as it speedily and radically stripped off the language of former socialist inhibitions and hypocrisy, exhibiting a freedom of publication choices unheard of then and almost entirely relying on a new pool of unconventional contributors drawn from the young generation of poets and writers. Making a strong stand about reading/writing and the cultural discursivity of creative change, *Literaturen Vestnik* did not shy away from actual politics and shook and shattered the public sphere with its radical opinions and caricatures. In terms of methodology, I will attempt to approach the editors of *Literaturen Vestnik* of those 'glorious days', and record and analyse their stories.

Furthermore, the project involves generational change and exchange by outlining the literary paradigm shift through interviews conducted with the second-generation editors of *Literaturen Vestnik*, that, de facto, became active after the fall of communism. The study looks into the broader subject of cultural capital that was handed down by the first generation of free intellectuals, and explores what elements in particular have been passed on to the present day. How did the next generation's writing practice develop and mature? Did their reading, writing and editing/publication performances continue the legacy of the former generation of the 'last and lost' predecessors? If changes were made, what transformations in the newspaper's content and management did they introduce? To answer these questions, the project will search for the deep factors lying behind the literary policies of community building and effecting creative change in Bulgaria.

Last but not least, I intend to link my theoretical findings to some practical creative writing approaches introduced by the Faculty of Slavic Studies, Sofia University, in its innovative (and still unique in Bulgaria) MA programme in 2002. The issues raised border on the discourse that surround the Anglo-American creative writing programmes, which have been thriving since the late 1940s, and which have been described as either 'the most important event in post-war American literary history' (Mark McGurl), or breeding 'an ant farm' (Louis Menand), indicative of the institutionalisation, infantilisation and decline of contemporary American literary writing. But it has also been stated that, thanks to Creative Writing, literary authorities have been turned from artistic practitioners into intellectuals (Paul Dawson). I, myself, have been actively involved in Sofia University's Creative Writing Programme, and together with Dimitar Radichkov, the executive director of Sofia University Press, have been in charge of the New Poetry and Fiction Series. The latter launches the debut works of young authors of poetry and fiction, and traditionally, one third of them come from our Creative Writing MA Programme. Thus, this study intends to add an extra touch to my interdisciplinary approach to Bulgaria's recent social and cultural history by coupling it with a combination of personal stories and accounts of educational and publishing practices to cast light on the processes of creative change in the field of new literary writing in Bulgaria.

**Elitza Stanoeva**

MA in Philosophy (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski'); MA in History (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary); PhD in Urban Studies and History (Centre for Metropolitan Studies, Technical University Berlin, Germany)

**Affiliation:** Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski', Department of Sociology & Human and Social Studies Foundation, Sofia

**Field of Study:** History

**Project Title:**

**'1,300 Years Bulgaria' and '750 Years Berlin':**

**Comparing National and International Objectives in Late-Socialist Anniversary Celebrations**

The goal of this project is to compare the programmes, as well as the resonance at home and abroad, of two grand-scale anniversaries in late state socialism – the Bulgarian celebration of 1,300 years of 'statehood' (1981) and the GDR-staged celebration of 750 years Berlin (1987). They will be comparatively analysed in the perspective of their national and international agendas, with a special emphasis on the emerging contradictions between internationalist ambitions and actual diplomatic tensions with neighbouring countries that arose from the national claims invested in the celebrations' overarching narratives.

The anniversaries of late state socialism were extraordinary events meant to reinvigorate the legitimacy of the respective regimes by celebrating the nation-state. They served the double function of positive mobilisation of the population and international image-building for the countries. The first goal was in tune with the concept of 'all-round individuals' advanced in the phase of real existing socialism and the entailed prioritisation of cultural politics intended to siphon citizens' creative energies into building socialism. Cultural promotion was an essential part also of the international campaign of the anniversaries, which involved events not only at home but also abroad launched by the countries' diplomatic missions. In addition, within the anniversary programs of '1300 Years Bulgaria'

and '750 Years Berlin', prestigious world events were carried out in the two capitals.

The anniversary programmes reflected the political and economic climate of the time, not least the nationalist inclinations that were emerging in the Soviet bloc countries in the 1980s and finding manifestation in identity politics and minority questions – a point particularly relevant to the Bulgarian case. National self-esteem was bolstered by the anniversaries' projection of *longue durée* historical traditions. Commemorating bygone founding acts, the anniversaries highlighted the recent processes of integrating past glory into the historical narrative of the respective nations. However, the national/ist undertones of the celebrations introduced a competitive *vibe vis-à-vis* neighbours, thus eroding the events' internationalist spirit.

Existing research on the two anniversaries has had an exclusively national focus, with the sole exception of a comparative study bringing together the Nazi-staged anniversary of Berlin in 1937 and the double celebration fifty years later, thus focusing on the same place in different historical contexts (Thijs 2008, 2012). Whereas such a perspective contextualises the anniversary agendas within the national policies of the time (Elenkov 2007), the comparative approach will open up the analysis to bloc-wide trends and diplomatic issues. Moreover, while previous works have tackled tangible products, like architectural projects of historical conservation (Urban 2009; Tieben 2008), this project addresses the historical discourses and diplomatic maneuvering triggered by the anniversaries.

The proposed project therefore treats the two events not merely as cultural festivities, but as symptomatic and reflective of the party agenda at the time. That is why relevant secondary sources are not limited to the anniversary processes, but include works dealing with the policy trends of the 1980s. In the Bulgarian case, these concern the impact and vision of Lyudmila Zhivkova (Atanasova 2004), the party course in the realm of high culture (Elenkov 2008) and, finally, the policies of forced assimilation and expulsion of the Muslim minority (Gruev and Kalionski 2008). On the GDR side, literature to be taken into consideration relates to the inter-German question within the framework of *Ostpolitik* (Schöne 2006; Stronk 2009). Finally, to highlight the unprecedented dimensions and significance of the anniversaries, they will be contrasted with regular political celebrations and mass parades (Lane 1981; Rolf 2006).

In analysing the blueprints, event programs, party theses and other documents related to '1,300 Years Bulgaria' and '750 Years Berlin', the

project aims to address the following research questions:

- What were the national historicist narratives (including their potential nationalist undertones) that provided ideological foundations for the anniversary concepts?
- What were their international goals and resonance?
- How did they reflect contemporary policies – domestic and bloc-wide – of Bulgaria and the GDR, and how did they, in turn, affect these policies?

The comparative dimension of the project is geared towards contextualising national commemoration strategies, image-building attempts and historicist discourses within the bloc-wide political setting of Eastern and Central Europe in the final decade of the Cold War. It will be sensitive, however, to systemic specificities of the respective party course in Bulgaria and the GDR (e.g. the impact of Zhivkova's unorthodox visions; the inter-German entanglement).

The immediate aim of the research is to prepare an article for international publication (e.g. *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung; East European Politics and Societies and Cultures; Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*).

**Elitsa Stoilova**

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**Affiliation:** Department of Ethnology, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Plovdiv University 'Paisii Hilendarski'

**Field of Study:** Anthropology

**Project Title:**

**Tradition and Innovation: Valorising Authentic Food**

The project aims to critically explore food and drink-related festivals in the Bulgarian context. It questions the very process of valuation of



food and food technologies as genuine for certain regions, in order to grasp how local identity is created through food authentication. The research focuses on a comparative study of food festivals in the territory of the South-Central Planning region in Bulgaria. Its geographical, cultural, and economic diversity offers a wealth of case studies for strategies for the (re)invention of traditions, utilised to sustain local development.

Since the 2000s, some Bulgarian towns and villages have initiated various celebrations of rural food products and pre-industrial technologies for food production and agriculture. Nowadays, Bulgarian food festivals have become a very popular and fast growing form of promoting local culinary traditions and technological know-how. In order to popularise and present their local foods, more than thirty small towns and villages annually organise such events all over the country. Some of them have already become a vital component of the local cultural calendar by appropriating elements from traditional feasts and fêtes, as well as encompassing new and innovative elements of collective celebration and local identity promotion. Bulgaria is no exception in the rapid development of locally organised appearances honouring food authenticity, but rather follows global patterns. Since the 1970s, food-related events have been growing rapidly worldwide and rising in numbers over the last decades.

At first glance, food festivals might be viewed as an external promotion of traditions targeting national and international visitors. They are believed to impersonate a community's sense of place and 'pride in the products that they produce' (Hall and Sharples, 2008), by representing the very maintenance of those communities. (Hall and Sharples, McClinchey, 2008; Bessière 1998). As a recent phenomenon for Bulgarian society, food festivals are interesting from a historical and anthropological perspective and, as I argue, they are simultaneously traditional and innovative in their nature.

Bulgarian food festivals incorporate traditions of rural festivity and combine them with diverse forms of local and national celebrations inherited from the socialist regime. As long as they promote local products and sustainability, they may be considered anti-global. However, while attracting alternative, culinary, or rural tourism, they become part of globalisation processes. The project aims at grasping the complex nature of food related festivity, which requires an interdisciplinary approach that will draw from anthropology, food studies, the history of technology and agriculture, marketing and tourism studies. It follows and analyses the different actors (local

governments, local community, producers, visitors, tourist agencies, etc.) in order to trace the process of food authentication, construction and popularisation of local food brands.

So far, most scholarly work dedicated to food festivals has been predominantly conducted by anthropologists, historians, and sociologists of food, as well as by researchers working in the field of cultural tourism. In Bulgaria, Nikolay Vukov and Miglena Ivanova have offered a historical research on the construction of region-related food labels by paying particular attention to food as 'a palpable indicator of regional identities'. Their work traces the development of food as a marker of regional identification. A small part of it is dedicated to food festivals as an illustration of what they refer as 'a new boom of region-related labels' (Vukov and Ivanova, 2008). The proposed project offers a further analysis of the recent processes of local food construction and recognition as part of regional identities. By doing so, it attempts to shed light on the utilisation of what is considered local traditions within changing cultural contexts.

In her paper 'Tasting the Balkans: Food and Identity', the Bulgarian scholar Evgenija Krăsteva-Blagoeva reveals how food has become an important element and symbol of cultural identity. Analysing what is considered a 'typical' national restaurant or national cuisine, the author outlines the symbolic and mental construction of the perception of local, regional, or national cuisines (Krăsteva-Blagoeva, 2008). Recent food studies pay particular attention to the phenomenon of food authentication. They demonstrate how food has been shaped by culture, ethnicity and geography, and how its authenticity is, in fact, a modern creation related to modernist concepts of uniqueness and individualism (Appadurai, 1986; Cohen, 1988). Furthermore, food historians define food authentication mostly as a result of diverse economic and technological efforts that justify the claim for original, genuine, real, and true local food products (Parasecoli, 2008; Pratt 2007). These findings suggest a relationship between the concept of authenticity and the perception of local food. The idea of locality as a place of authenticity is especially tangible in relation to food and taste.

My research on the local specificities of food festivals utilises the theoretical insights outlined above to explore how food related festivals connect authentic products and specific locality. The project objective is to trace how different actors construct the idea of authenticity, and how values are embodied in a place to mark it as the authentic 'home' of a specific food. To investigate these issues, the project poses the following questions: What are the

driving agents behind those processes, and how are the claims of authenticity justified? How are 'traditional' food products involved in creating a local identity? The analysis will focus on the authentication of food by addressing its various political, economic, social, cultural, and symbolic dimensions.

The research will be based on a collection of case studies whose analysis will capture the dynamics and festival transformation through time. Their comparative examination will visualise the diverse strategies used for authentic food and regional brand validation, and thus manifest how traditions may be self-defined.



**Dimitar Vatsov**

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**Field of Study:** Philosophy (Ordinary Language Philosophy)

**Project Title:**  
**What Do We Do When We Say 'This Is the Truth'?**

What do we do when we say 'This is the truth!?' This is the leading question of the project. Yet, since 'truth' is an overexploited term, it is important to specify how we approach this question. My study examines truth-telling as an entirely practical – an everyday – gesture similar to 'accountable actions' in Harvey Sacks's conversation analysis. In other words, it deals with the examination of truth-telling as a specific performative in John Austin's sense, i.e. as a performative utterance made *here and now* in a situational and indexically oriented context. The project adopts a maximally pragmatic and contextual approach to *truth-telling*, in the spirit of ordinary language philosophy, ethnomethodology, and conversation analysis.

The main task is to find the family resemblances in a number of different cases in

which we 'tell the truth'; i.e. to find the typical ('primitive') meaning of performatives of the 'This is the truth!' type, regardless of whether one uses the word 'truth' in them, a derivative, a practical synonym (e.g. 'actually', 'in fact', or 'indeed'), or insist on the truth with a gesture or a particular tone of voice. Furthermore, the project treats truth-telling as an everyday performative: (1) Regardless of whether one is dealing with ordinary language, or with – actually also ordinary – usages of 'truth' in the higher, institutionalised languages of science, law, religion, etc.; and (2) Regardless of whether the truth-teller is repeating pre-given normative models and socio-cultural standards, subverting them, or openly (through 'parrhesia') speaking out against a given hegemonic regime of truth (Foucault, 2001).

The comparison between performatives of the 'This is the truth!' type and a particular type of commands, such as 'Take as an example!', 'Do this always!', or 'Follow the rule!', is distinctive and constructive for the project's analysis. It is through this comparison that it attempts to find the basic meaning we are looking for: telling the truth is a practical gesture of *providing an example, an instance, a sample, a model to be followed*.

But unlike explicit commands, which usually indexically indicate the concrete situational circumstances as well as the speaker and addressee of the command, truth-telling hides the situational context in which such an utterance is made. Hence the need to demonstrate that truth-telling is a specific performative whose main function is to produce maximum de-indexicalisation and, thereby, maximum generalisation of what is declared to be true: it is a practical gesture of de-contextualising the utterance, through which the utterance should produce an extra-contextual standard to be followed. This is the performative purpose of such utterances – their 'pragmatic implication' in the sense of Stanley Cavell (1998).

Contrary to de-indexicalisation as a performative purpose of telling the truth, the project systematically re-indexicalises such utterances. The entire strategy of the analysis is to re-contextualise this type of performatives: as utterances which are made by *someone, somewhere, somehow – here and now* – under entirely concrete situational circumstances. Such a strategy presupposes that the maximum degree of generalisation in the case of these performatives never appears in 'pure form' – generalisation is simply a practical device which has only circumstantial and momentary felicity or infelicity.

The study follows the route of post-analytic philosophy of ordinary language after Wittgenstein and Austin, and relies primarily on the synthetic and anti-foundationalist strategies of approaching this problematic in Stanley Cavell (1995; 1998; 1999), as well as – with some stipulations – in Richard Rorty and Samuel Wheeler. On the other hand, it also relies on the bridges cast recently between ordinary language philosophy and ethnomethodology by two Bulgarian authors (Koev, 2012; Hristov, 2013).

To the best of my knowledge, a special study in which truth-telling, understood as a typical performative, is compared to commands (i.e. to 'directives') has not been conducted to date in ordinary language philosophy, ethnomethodology, or conversation analysis. To the best of my knowledge, neither has telling the truth been specifically compared to giving practical 'accounts' in Harvey Sacks's sense. Hence, this project is experimental.

The project relies on, but also openly argues with, the so-called minimalist theories of truth in contemporary Anglo-American philosophy, and, more specifically, with W.V.O. Quine (1986; 1992) and Paul Horwich (1997; 1999; 2010). The main points of agreement are:

- the meaning of 'truth' should be elucidated in terms of language usage;
- the main function of 'truth' is generalisation.

The research, however, contests a number of 'logical' idealisations of the minimalists. The classic analyses of truth as a performative utterance in John Austin (2013) and Peter Strawson (1949) are taken further in terms of 'performativity' to demonstrate that generalisation is a 'pragmatic implication' – a performative purpose – of the utterance 'This is the truth!'. Operating to achieve this purpose, the utterance 'x is true' does not simply repeat and re-affirm 'x', but, in a certain way, produces it as a new object – objectifying and generalising 'x', i.e. transforming its previous status. The ethnomethodological concepts of 'de-indexicalisation' and 're-indexicalisation' are particularly useful to explain this 'transformational capacity' of telling the truth (see Coulter, 1991), although, to the best of my knowledge, so far they have not been applied specifically to truth-telling.

The practical effects of truth-telling are known to be among the main characteristics of a series of older idealisations of Absolute Truth, as well as of the more moderate modern scientific ideal of the 'universality and universal validity' of truth. The project, however, identifies them not as characteristics of 'truth in itself', but of the performative 'This is the

truth!'. Through them, the 'primitive meaning' (Wittgenstein 1969) of truth-telling can be defined as: *providing an instance, a sample, a model to be followed*. This is a novelty of the proposed research. It opens a new horizon for analysing the *felicity conditions* and the *ways of justification* of the paradigms and samples that are declared to be true.



**Irina Genova**

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**Affiliation:** Institute for Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, & New Bulgarian University

**Field of Study:** History of Art, Visual Studies

**Project Title:**

**Bulgaria's Perspective on Art from Beyond the Iron Curtain during the 1960s. An After-History of Art**

Any historicising narrative presents as much the subject of the narrative as the present need for that narrative. The Dutch theoretician Mieke Bal introduces the term 'preposterous history' – a history in reverse order, or a history that is driven by the present.

In the present study of art during the communist period in Bulgaria, I am trying to state my present-day interest and view, perception and interpretation, formed in the conditions of the local, but also in the conditions of cultural globalisation. The formulation of questions related to previous artistic events and practices, and the search for answers pertinent to the present day have been provoked by my anxiety about the contemporary situation. This is the main motivation for my research. Judging by the art practices and critical publications in our country in a liberal cultural situation after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and their relation with art practices elsewhere, one may ask the questions how and to what extent this situation reflects previous experiences.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, in Bulgaria there has been no collective research aimed at historicising the art practices from the time of communist rule. Indeed, we should not disregard certain articles and parts of exhibitions, as the 1980s – a period of significant changes and new practices – provokes great interest. However, these critical attempts seem to have been insufficient for the formation of an understanding between the 1980s and the earlier 1960s–1970s.

Research demonstrates that art contacts and the wider milieu of art practices in Southeastern Europe and in the so-called former 'socialist bloc' showed considerable differences as well as exhibited their own specifics. As for Bulgaria, the management of artistic life was centralised from the second half of the 1940s to the end of the 1980s. Today, the issues of mutual artistic influences and the places and means of their occurrence (international exhibitions, critical, historical and theoretical texts, etc.) are the focus of researchers from various fields. Hence, from today's perspective, the (non-)happening of artistic contacts during the period of the 'Cold War' in Bulgaria and elsewhere seems crucial for the interpretation of artistic works and practices before 1989.

In the present research on Bulgaria's perspective on Western European and American art in the 1960s I suggest considering the artistic contacts – realised or missing – in two aspects: through the publications mainly in *Izkustvo* (Art), a periodical which served as an important official institution of the artistic life in communist Bulgaria, and from the perspective of the artists whose personal practice differed in some respects from the practices modelled by the official institutions. The publications in *Izkustvo* provide not only information about artistic events in Bulgaria and elsewhere, but also offer a possibility for understanding the officially regulated and constructed cultural topography. I will try to imagine and discuss the position of these artists by reading and analysing interviews and articles in which they themselves mention their impressions of foreign art and its influence, as well as researching personal archives, albeit with the necessary adjustments for this testimonial discourse.

The project falls in the broad field of visual studies and has an interdisciplinary profile. Arts defined as applied, as well as industrial design, deserve special attention. The fact that most visiting exhibitions from Europe to Bulgaria (from both sides of the 'Iron Curtain') came from this artistic field has been ignored until recently. The so-called 'applied' sphere was considered to be relatively marginal (compared to painting, sculpture, monumental arts) and ideologically neutral. International exchange in the field of applied arts and industrial design will be one of the main areas of the research.

The boom in the information milieu in the conditions of the global network encourage a comparative perspective. It destabilises the familiar historicising narratives and presents both an internal and external point of view towards art events, tendencies and works which by now have been presented from the position of a national history of art. Today, however, boundaries and walls seem to disappear, and other questions emerge concerning key notions of art writing.

Together with the saturation of Internet space, the contemporary opportunities for travel and the museum boom create conditions for comparison and trigger an interest in the study of trajectories and crossing points, as well as beg for a different interpretation of works and art practices in an expanded cultural topography. Case studies, in particular, are very helpful, as they allow for both comparative and contrastive perspectives. *Izkustvo* contains a wealth of information about posters, books, typography and industrial designs which remained outside the communist requirements of 'realism' and 'truthfulness'. The magazine also mentions important foreign collections that were exhibited in Bulgaria in the Cold War period and thus provided a look 'at the West'.

The differences in the reception of art beyond the 'Iron Curtain' will be another key area of the study. When Bulgarian artists participated in international forums abroad, they came to realise that the West was not uniform. Differences between the contrasting comments in French (given credence in Bulgaria because of its leftist artists) and American art (perjoratively referred to as 'avant-garde' and 'decadent') in the 1960s clearly stand out. In the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the competitive situation on the art scene was distinctly felt not only on 'the front line' of the 'Cold War', but between Western Europe and the USA, too.

Finally, the study has a contextual character, as I intend to discuss how the perspective beyond the 'Iron Curtain' has changed over the decades of its existence and beyond. Thus the research will mobilise knowledge from the fields of political and social studies for the contextual analyses and comments. Overall, it hopes to open a larger scope for the critical discussions of the 1960s in Bulgaria; contribute to the contemporary historicising of the artistic practices and international exchanges during the 'Cold War'; develop and deepen the understanding of the present situation concerning the perspective from Bulgaria on artistic practices elsewhere; and propose new resources for academic education in the field of visual studies.



**Maria Baramova**

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**Field of Study:** History, Diplomatic History, and Cultural History

**Project Title:**

**Armistice versus Pax Perpetua:  
Habsburg-Ottoman Peace Treaties  
and their Interpretation, Sixteenth –  
Eighteenth Centuries**

A few decades ago, when elaborating on military aspects of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, the renowned German Turkologist Hans Joachim Kießling made the following intriguing statement: 'Between the Christian states there is in principle a state of peace which is occasionally interrupted by wars. Between the Ottoman Empire and the Christian powers, however, there is in principle a state of war, which is sometimes interrupted by truce.' This formulation mirrors the Ottoman-Muslim understanding of how to deal with 'states ruled by infidels' and the notion of the Holy War for the Faith (*Jihad*). On the other hand, from the mid-fifteenth century on, European rulers began to look at the mighty Ottoman Empire as a general threat to all Christendom. It was no coincidence that the idea of a *Lega Sacra* – a coalition against the Sultan – became an integral part of the vocabulary of the Pope, Emperor and princes, as the ideological front was unmistakably clear to both sides.

Recent studies prove that Kießling's theoretical construct did not always coincide with reality. What is certain, however, is that from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the end of the seventeenth century, the peace agreements of the Ottomans with their powerful Christian enemies were framed in the terms of armistice/truce rather than treaty. This was in accordance with the Muslim/Islamic understanding of international law; yet it also provided the Christian powers with a justified excuse to launch new wars against the Ottomans when Ottoman power seemed



to crumble. A truce merely postponed rather than ended a conflict.

The eighteenth century is often considered a transitional period in the contacts between the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe. This is true both for Habsburg-Ottoman as well as Russian-Ottoman relations. In the Holy Roman Empire, the image of the Turks as an 'enemy' was subject to transformation, too: although the wars with the 'archenemy of Christendom' did not cease, the periods of peace far outweighed the years of military conflict. This change was a consequence of the weakness of the Ottomans, who were unable to maintain their power position in the Balkans, and their ideologically motivated view to international law.

There is a close connection between language, politics, and culture, especially as interests and claims need to be verbalised during peace negotiations and discussions. Historically, it is a major challenge to find common traits within the limits of international law and developing standards among the European Christian powers. However, it is even more complicated to do so within inter-religious and intercultural spaces, as is the case with the Ottomans.

The project deals with models of representation and is linked to both historical research and cultural diplomacy theories. The study relies on an innovative approach that brings together methods from different disciplines – history, cultural anthropology, and linguistics. It is based mainly on the so-called *translation turn*, which is part of a wider discourse on cultural translation formulated in some of Peter Burke's works on cultural history (2005/2007). At the same time, I would like to juxtapose that translation approach with the political and diplomatic problems of the Habsburg-Ottoman relations between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

*Translation* is not a uniform term. Its definition implies primarily philological, linguistic operations, oral or written, which transfer content from one language to another. At the same time, translation could provide a way into analysing the transmission of culture across linguistic boundaries as well as generations. In the early modern political and cultural relations between the Muslim Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe, the importance of translation was underlined by both sides, since it was necessary for diplomacy and diplomats to understand each other without misunderstanding or provoking conflicts.

The successful Ottoman expansion in Central Europe brought the Empire of the Sultan to non-Ottoman language areas where Latin,

Hungarian and German, all of them non-Balkan languages, were dominant. It is no coincidence that the office of the *Dragoman* (the Chief Translator) of the Sublime Porte began to enjoy a high reputation in this period. The European Christian powers, too, longing to maintain political or economic contacts with the Ottomans, had to ensure that they could understand the 'spoken words' and the writings of the Ottoman dignitaries. This required precise translation. The aim of the project is to provide answers to the questions asked below, and thus formulate theses embedded in a theoretical approach:

- Were issues concerning translation simply connected to problems of translating a document from one language to another? Would it be possible for translation to have been subject to political influences, too? While translations may be purely linguistic in nature, they may also reflect specific political situations, by revealing a balance between the states in terms of power politics, military and cultural realities. In this respect, the history of Habsburg-Ottoman relations between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries can be examined through a translation discourse.
- Considering their linguistic and non-linguistic aspects, what were the differences between the Habsburg and Ottoman translations in the early modern Period? Were the two translation patterns based on symmetry or asymmetry? Did translation patterns indicate incidents of cultural misunderstanding or on the contrary, diplomatic attempts to bring to life Christian-Muslim peace regulations?

In addition, the project focuses on the 'Peace with the Turks' media discourse that developed in the Habsburg Monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire in the early modern period and permeated journals, newspapers, and *Flugblätter*.

The overall objective of the study is to establish a factological chain, based on archival material (diplomatic reports, peace treaties, printed volumes, journals and newspapers from the early modern period), and create a theoretical framework for understanding cultural interactions conditioned by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works on international law and the historical narrative of eighteenth-century political thought.



**Martin Valkov**

BA in History (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski, Bulgaria'); MA in International Relations (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski'); MA in History (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary); PhD in History (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski')

**Affiliation:** National Museum of Military History, Sofia

**Field of Study:** History

**Project Title:**

**Victors' Justice or a Travesty of Justice:  
The Prosecution of War Crimes in Bulgaria after  
the First World War**

The issues of war crimes and their prosecution are less frequently associated with the First World War, as the crimes committed in the Second World War by Nazi Germany and its allies, the mass murder of millions, and the Holocaust, as well as the subsequent Nuremberg and Tokyo trials overshadow earlier precedents. For a long time, the memory of the Great War of 1914–1918 was dominated by images of the static Western front, Verdun, the Somme, etc. In the last two decades, however, historians have gradually shifted their focus from battle fronts to home fronts, social and cultural mobilisation, state intervention in the economy, the plight of the civilian populations, as well as to illegal military violence in the occupied lands. Today it is acknowledged that war crimes, violence against prisoners of war, violence against civilians, forced labor, concentration camps, crimes against humanity, and genocide were also an integral part of the First World War.

The end of the war also saw the first attempt in history at establishing tribunals with international jurisdiction. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Allied powers seriously contemplated the possibility of creating international tribunals to judge German, Ottoman and Bulgarian officers, officials and soldiers accused of committing war crimes. The peace treaties with the defeated countries obliged the latter to hand their war criminals over to the victors. Although this provision never materialised, under Entente pressure both Germany and the Ottoman Empire set domestic tribunals to conduct trials of war criminals, thus hoping to avoid their handover

to their former enemies. The results of the trials in Leipzig and Istanbul were disappointing. They were seen as victors' justice by the Germans and Ottomans, and as a travesty of justice by the Allies.

My project draws on my research on the ways in which the Bulgarian military and civilian authorities administered the lands taken from Serbia in 1915. It is based on some intriguing archival documents addressing an Inquiry Commission at the Bulgarian Ministry of War set to respond to allegations of war crimes committed in Bulgarian-occupied Serbian and Greek territories at the end of 1918. The catalogues of the State Military History Archives, too, host abundant yet underexplored documentation on trials of war criminals. The proposed project aims to study the history of those trials and thus fill in an important gap in domestic and international historiographic research on international law, war crimes, and war crime tribunals in Bulgaria after the end of the First World War.

The project pursues the following lines of inquiry:

- How did the prosecution of war crimes in Bulgaria relate to the general legal and diplomatic framework of post-WWI international order?
- When did the trials start and when did they end? What were the results: how many legal proceedings were instigated against the accused; how many sentences were passed; what types of crimes were prosecuted and what types were left out?
- What policy did the post-war government of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union undertake at home and in the international field to tackle the issue of the prosecution of war crimes?
- How did the army leadership react to the trials and, more generally, how did the military react to outside interventions in their sphere?
- What was the Bulgarian public opinion of the trials, and what was their legacy in public memory?

In terms of methodology, I situate the more traditional diplomatic and legal dimensions of the research against the backdrop of new cultural approaches to military history. Two concepts are of particular importance for my research: 'total war', which, largely considered a Weberian ideal type, signifies the 'total' mobilisation of all material, human and spiritual resources of the nation to wage a successful war. Its main feature is the blurring of the distinction between civilian and military spheres, so clearly defined by nineteenth-century international law. Many of the criminal acts, or violent and coercive practices, remain

incomprehensible if outside the context of the 'totalising' tendencies of WWI.

In addition, I make use of the concept of 'military culture' introduced by the American historian Isabell V. Hull. The term is understood as a set of 'habitual practices, default programmes, hidden assumptions, and unreflected cognitive frames' as, instead of ideological explanation of the violence committed by the Imperial German Army (e.g. nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, racism, etc.), Hull linked it to habitual practices deeply rooted in German military culture. Concurrently, I am aware that any attempt at overtheorising military violence can be misleading and should be carefully avoided, since it risks washing away personal responsibility. As a leading expert in the field noticed: 'The study of atrocities, massacres, and more broadly war crimes reveals a pattern in World War I that shows both a historic shift toward ever more "total" forms of war that involved ever greater sections of society, and conscious decisions taken in the context of specific military cultures' (Alan Kramer, 2010).

My project aims to fill in the vacuum within the fields of Bulgarian history, European history of the post-WWI order, and international history concerning the prosecution of war crimes, and thus integrate the Bulgarian case within the broader European and global perspective. I hope that scholars from other academic fields will find my project useful, too, as it may open new spaces for analysing and re-interpreting military violence in the modern world.



**Nadezhda Aleksandrova**

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**Affiliation:** Department of Bulgarian Literature, Faculty of Slavic Studies, Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski'

**Field of Study:** Literary History, Ottoman History, Gender Studies

**Project Title:**

**Love and Violence: Literary Transmissions of the Image of the Janissaries among the non-Muslim Communities across the Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century**

My project explores the intricate entanglements of cultural histories among the different communities in the Ottoman context of the nineteenth century. It reveals the unknown history of reception of the French novel *Les Janissaries* by Alphonse Royer (1842) in the Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Karamanlica and Armenian languages. The case study of the rapid translation wave of this piece of sentimental literature within just a few decades (1840s–1860s) clarifies my main objective of research. In fact, the literary interactions between the intellectual elite of the non-Muslim communities led to the transmission of concepts, images, and perceptions of emotions that were much more dynamic and influential than the national literary histories would have us believe.

This study is innovative in several ways. Firstly, it announces the discovery of the original author of the novel – Alphonse Royer (1803–1875) – whose authorship I managed to demonstrate conclusively after more than a century of uncertainty and bibliographical mistakes regarding his identity. While formerly celebrated in his country, later he fell in oblivion. Yet Alphonse Royer was an inspiration for other distinguished and well-known writers, such as Théophile Gautier, Gerard de Nerval, Victor Hugo and Heinrich Heine, who contributed to the creation of the fantasy of the Oriental Ottoman space in their travelogues, poetry and novels.

So far, Southeast European national historiographies have found the novel translated into Greek, Bulgarian and Armenian, but have appointed a different author to this piece, or left the text unauthorised.

The research concentrates on Royer's novel *Les Janissaries*, as the latter needs to be integrated in the corpus of studies that explore the process of 'imagining the Balkans' and the reproduction of orientalist images by means of literature. Therefore, the second innovative objective of my project is to explore the mechanism of creation of the orientalist image of the 'Janissaries' by analysing *Les Janissaries* and its reception among non-Muslim communities (Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Karamanlica and Armenian). I place special emphasis on the way the image of the Janissary order has been regarded 'under Western eyes' as a symbol of extreme violence and ultimate devotion among the cultural elite of the different communities, and was rapidly included in the second half of the nineteenth century in each community's fictional production, thus



enhancing the process of national awareness building. To 'thicken the description', I also intend to introduce further depictions from Ottoman-Turkish writers from the same period to illustrate that the utilisation of the image of the Janissaries as an evil force was similar in that tradition. It was used for the purposes of different nationalistic drives and modernisation efforts that took place in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The resources for building those images stemmed from the translations of foreign literature, including *Les Janissaries*. Alongside the orientalisation of the image of the Janissaries, the novel was also an influential source for the introduction of new norms for social interactions presumed to be indicators of Western civilisation. In this vein, my aim is also to analyse the potential of the novel to transfer perceptions of love from the literary tradition of Western sentimentalism to the local patriarchal perceptions of intimacy. The love relationship between an enlightened Muslim man and a noble Christian girl within the framework of historical events that led to the dissolution of the Janissary order during the reign of Mahmud II (1808–1839) is central for the plot. By articulating the feeling of love through a set of manners and interactions, A. Royer's *Les Janissaries* may also be interpreted in the light of the history of emotions, especially in regard to the introduction of the sentimental love story to the Ottoman readership.

The third innovative feature of my project lies in its methodology, which aims at encompassing cross-cultural processes of building national literary histories in the Tanzimat period of the Ottoman nineteenth century. It rests on the idea of 'entangled' literary histories and describes the chains of translations by using the relational method of *histoire croisée* – an 'umbrella concept' that is helpful for case studies of literary intercrossings because of its 'relational, interactive and process-oriented dimensions' (Werner & Zimmerman, 2006). In order to provide a relational aspect between facts and fictional representations, I refer to a solid corpus of studies on the Janissary order (Koçu, 1964; Georgieva, 1988; Kafadar, 1991; Mutafchieva, 2008). Such an approach requires additional references to imagology and post-colonial criticism to explain the image of the Janissaries and their representation as the violent Muslim 'other' (Said, 1979; Todorova, 1990; Peirce, 1993; Mohanty, 1986).

My ultimate findings will be reflected in articles as well as in a monograph. They will present the abundant and multidirectional intercrossing among different Ottoman communities during the nineteenth century, and challenge the conservatism of national literary histories.



**Veronika Dimitrova**

BA and MA in Sociology (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski', Bulgaria); PhD in Sociology and Anthropology (Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski')

**Affiliation:** Department of Sociology, Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski'

**Field of Study:** Urban Studies, History of Urban Housing Policy

**Project Title:**

**The 'Homeless' and Co-operative Development: Economic Aspects of the Housing policies in Sofia in the Interwar Period**

Sofia is a city which transformed from a small administrative centre of the Ottoman Empire into a capital. The first urban development plan almost completely erased the Ottoman image of the town, and the following decades witnessed its expansion by circa thirty percent, with increasing immigration that soon surpassed the 'city measure' (Georgiev, 1983). The growing housing crisis accompanied by a lack of housing policies provoked residents to appropriate parts of the city's peripheries and build their houses there. Thus, up to the beginning of the First World War, the development of the city was determined by a modernisation and Europeanisation process incorporating the centre, and, simultaneously, by chaotic development on its margins induced by the homeless.

After WWI, the housing crisis deepened because of the suspension of development during the wars, the paucity of basic construction material, and enhanced immigration, and the city authorities were urged to seek solutions to the mounting problem. Measures were taken to ease the tax burden on new buildings, an ordinance was issued to accelerate the construction of undeveloped lots within two years, and regulations were introduced regarding tenant relations. The municipality became the key player in the decision to allot housings for the homeless. However, these

policies did not alleviate the housing crisis, and poor people as well as war refugees continued to illegally resort to municipality land to supply their needs.

In 1929, the *Law on the Issuance of Notary Deeds Certifying the Ownership over Municipal Lots Given or Occupied for the Construction of Housing for Homeless People* was passed, attempting to make people who had seized municipal lands their legal owners. The rationale behind the act was to quench possible social unrest and reduce the explosive urban poverty. However, good intentions were accompanied by intricate economic games, which led to an overall destabilisation of urban policies. It is the economic aspects of those urban 'policies' that I focus on in this research.

The beginning of the interwar period brought an austere post-war economic crisis, marked by economic collapse, commodity shortages, capital outflow, runaway inflation, a devastated financial sphere, undercapitalised banks and enterprises, distrust in the banking system, and an unsettled situation concerning foreign debt and grim reparations (Avramov 2007). Bulgarian economic policies followed the establishment and stabilisation of the post-war monetary system in continental Europe. Monetary stability was achieved by means of strict fiscal policy, on the basis of which stabilisation loans were being granted. Control was exerted by the league of nations and thus confidence was 'imported' (Ibid). The fiscal restrictions in Bulgaria and the control over the state budget provided the background against which strategies to overcome the crisis were born. However, I would like to add a third path that was utilised by Bulgarian policy-makers to circumvent the international efforts to achieve financial stability. It incorporated the selling off of municipal property and financial strategies used for that purpose, which turned the state and municipalities into competitors and opposing agents, and created paradoxical situations between 'insolvent homeless' debtors and the municipality as a guarantor in the bank loan and mortgage field.

In the 1930s, the urban dwelling crisis generated a wave of high-rise, co-operative construction in the centre of the capital, as, following a new mode of thought, these were seen as a less costly approach to the burning issue. Tools for financing the booming co-operative construction began to be introduced on a massive scale. Yet in their essence they resembled earlier strategies. This provides an intriguing case which my project intends to explore through the archives of the homeless co-operative associations, the municipal policies, budgets and bank documents.



## International Module

March 2016 - February 2017



**Hili Razinsky (Israel)**

BBC in Mathematics (Hebrew University, Israel); MA in Philosophy (Hebrew University); PhD in Philosophy (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

**Affiliation:** Haifa University, Department of Philosophy

**Field of study:** Philosophy

**Project Title:**  
**Subjects and Their Interactions**

What is the connection between subjectivity and interpersonal relations? What is understanding, and what is implied in Kant's moral imperative?

In my analysis, relationships with others are constitutive of persons and their attitudes, while at the same time undermining personhood. This is why my proposed research involves the study of diverse phenomena of interpersonal and collective interaction and communication, including various modes of reification, care, and dialogue.

*Understanding, objectivity-pursuits, and intersubjectivity:* The polarity of the subjectivity-interaction structure may suggest, in opposing ways, that understanding, misunderstanding, agreement, and disagreement are impossible. On the one hand, one may emphasise separate engagements, e.g. judgements of any of the interacting individuals and the separate

contextual concepts which are bound up with their engagements. In this case, it could seem that each person is a monad (or, at least, each group, society, discipline, or school). On the other hand, if the mutual constitution of the engagements of the interacting individuals is emphasised, it may be inferred that there is never sufficient stability for notions of objectivity (of meaning, truth, goodness, etc.) to be saved from mere emptiness. In my research, I reject both sceptical directions by showing that each of them reduces the tension-fraught and essentially bipolar relation between subjectivity and interaction to one of its elements. Instead, I draw from the structure a positive understanding of language sharing and the possibility of agreement and disagreement (in various contexts). Such an agreement presupposes neither sameness nor self-sameness. Such implications, in turn, are only made possible because the analysis of the language is part of the explication of the structure of interpersonal relations in the first place. Thus, in particular, I problematise the notion of mental attributions, and investigate conversation as a privileged mode of meeting. I would like to appeal to a central aspect of language which concerns the use of language by an engaged individual (and also by a subject-like group): language can back up our life only because the person can be positively engaged in a way that demonstrates 'conceptual ambivalence'.

My study adopts what may be called a Wittgensteinian-phenomenological approach. Wittgenstein and the phenomenologists saw that understanding must be entrenched in certain facts regarding language or life, i.e. facts, which are open to a relevant human perspective (e.g. that of language, consciousness, or intentionality). Within this mindset, a person – including someone who is directly involved – may misunderstand a specific situation, and that the identification and characterisation of such facts is open to re-articulation by participants as well as by those who think of or through these facts.

Following my method of research, when analysing a certain structure I refer to the sort of structure implicitly acknowledged in human phenomena which lie open to view. A further feature of my approach responds to

Except for two larger studies conducted by G. Georgiev and M. Yakimova, housing policies in Sofia in the interwar period have been under-researched. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, housing policies in their economic perspective and utilisation of financial tools (state and the municipal loans and budgets) have not yet been explored in the Bulgarian context. In my earlier research on interwar hygienist policies in Sofia, I managed to sketch out some general processes of the city's expansion and the homelessness issue, and I noted the economic conditions which predetermined the key actors' decisions on urban development issues. This project aims to take my former work further by analysing the economic context of housing policies in the interwar period and focusing on two case studies, namely the 'homeless' and co-operative development.

My research entails a comparative perspective, as I would like to situate the Bulgarian case within the framework of similar studies of other Balkan cities. I also attempt to identify what the effects of such paradoxical housing policies on the perception of private property might have been in the past. In other words, I will try to answer the following question: Could private property in the interwar period have been destabilised precisely because of the pursuit of economic and political stability?

The project adopts the methodological tools elaborated in Roumen Avramov's book 'Communal Capitalism'. I will analyse the municipal statistics and budgets, bank accounts and loans, the financial tools provided for in the legislation, as well as the available archives of urban associations (both 'homeless' and co-operative). I believe that my strong knowledge of housing policies, municipal archive documents and the overall interwar period will positively contribute to the final research outcome.

the fact that in investigating the phenomena and language of interaction, the investigation cannot be disentangled from the results. How, then, can we avoid the substitution of a philosophical prejudice for the phenomena? My reply is that it is helpful not to proceed smoothly in one's own interpretative course. In particular, a dialogue with diverse thinkers and the crossing of schools and outlooks is essential: Not only can one thus let the truth of different and partly opposed perspectives impose itself on one's inquiry, but one may let them illuminate each other, too.

*Project point of departure:* Drawing on my work on ambivalence and the mind, I depict the individual (or the subject) in terms of a post-Davidsonian notion of basic rationality. This implies that a person is both multiply engaged and links and re-links their various engagements. I would like to emphasise that engagements are concrete, and yet their identity is 'soft'. Subjectivity is moored in both the agent's conscious engagements and the possibility of third-person attributions of attitudes, actions and other engagements. This possibility is one aspect of the fact that human lives are linguistic, and one's first-person engagement must refer to a public language.

*The abstract claim:* At this level, 'others' are required for the constitution of the individual only through the third-person perspective, and language may *seem* merely to be an objective background to the life of individuals. Yet the understanding of subjectivity calls for an inquiry in regard to another aspect of intersubjectivity, namely, *how interpersonal relationships and contacts bear on individuality*. I identify a tension-fraught structure that binds individuality with relationships, meetings, or conversations. I will argue that (a) intersubjectivity in this sense necessarily involves individuals in the rather strong sense mentioned above; (b) that at the same time, actual and possible intersubjective relations undermine or deny the individual and her engagements; and finally, that (c) the structure underlies the meaningfulness and reality of individual subjectivity. The point is that the person's engagements must become indeterminate in the interpersonal exchange and thus affirm soft individuality, without which any engagement would cease to engage anybody.

*Ethics:* To be related with others includes *turning* to the other person and attending to them. With the help of this characterisation, I exhibit how the triple relations of subjectivity and interaction present Kant's categorical imperative (to see the other 'as an end' just like oneself) both as necessary and yet doomed to failure. Accordingly, attention to these tension-fraught relations would permit a clearer view of the different ways in which an engagement with another person may be attuned with, and

detract from, respect for her subjectivity as well as concern for her well-being and desires. In particular, I analyse the relative character of the notion of reification. It is crucial that the tripartite tension-fraught relation between personhood and interaction also holds for relationships (and 'non-relationships') of an alienated, reifying, or hateful character, or that are mediated by the participants' belonging to separate reference groups.

*Expected results:* The project will principally involve extensive work on eight journal articles and a book which, in my expectation, will be fruitfully connected with contemporary work in the fields of Philosophy of Mind, Ethics and Philosophy of Language, and also significantly contribute to the rising field of Social Ontology. I believe that my current, ongoing research on ambivalence and personhood positions me to provide an account of inter-subjectivity that may prove productive for a wide spectrum of investigations in the Humanities and Social Sciences.



**Jan Zofka (Germany)**

MA in History (Leipzig University), PhD in Global Studies (Leipzig University)

**Field of Study:** (Transnational) Social History of State Socialism

**Affiliation:** Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO) (Leipzig University)

**Project Title:**

**A Transnational History of Socialist Industrialisation – the Bulgarian Economic Leap (1956/58–1960)**

This social history project investigates the transnationality of state socialist industrialisation drives. The important role of the state in twentieth-century socialism has led many observers (in the West) to conceive of the Soviet Union, the COMECON (the economic association of the former communist countries in the Soviet bloc), or other socialist states as being 'autarchic', while classic Cold War narratives described the 'Iron Curtain' as being impermeable. However, this study

draws inspiration from newer research that has argued that socialist economies were highly dependent on global developments, and that the Soviet leadership displayed a strong political will to deepen integration into the World economy. It adopts the approaches of *socialist globalisation* to explore the industrialisation processes in the socialist countries and the Bulgarian case in particular. Following these recent research agendas, it is the social, 'day-to-day' aspect of transgressing state borders, rather than the international diplomatic relations, that is the main focus of this project. Its ultimate goal is to detect and describe a transnational dimension of socialist economic development.

The state took a peculiarly comprehensive role in the socialisms of the twentieth century, making industrialisation its central project. However, industrialisation became a project that inherently transcended state borders. It was inspired by, fed with and oriented towards the world – inspired by actors, models and debates, fed with resources and hardware, and oriented towards markets that lay beyond the borders of its main operator. Socialist government officials, engineers and planners needed supplies that could only be found in the outside world, or that had to be developed in communication with it: theoretical and practical models, raw materials, workforce (at times), technological know-how, machines and, last but not least, internationally convertible money for purposeful acquisition. That the socialist state made a comprehensive claim to control workforce and capital should not be confused with autarchy. Instead, the socialist state set in motion huge international industrial projects by assuming the role of a globalising force. International state relations produced a dimension beyond diplomatic and governmental interaction and created institutions, movements and structures that transcended state borders.

On the tracks of these assumptions, the study aims to follow the transnational dimensions of the Bulgarian *Economic Leap* campaign, which the Bulgarian Communist Party and government declared in 1958 with the goal of hastening the industrialisation process. I assume that this economic expansion drive was embedded in transnational processes in multiple ways. In the study I would like to explore four of them:

- Industrialisation and cooperative planning were debated in the COMECON and on specialists' platforms, influencing Bulgarian policies.
- Capital was needed and provided by COMECON partners, and mainly by the Soviet Union, but these credits were given partly in 'western' currency, and thus depended on the 'western' financial system.



- While much technology and machinery was secured by the socialist partners, Bulgarian foreign economic institutions also relied on western technological imports, and locating hard currency to serve that aim was of high priority.
- Along with the Soviet Union as leader of the Socialist world, Mao's China, too, and its 'Great Leap Forward' campaign provided a role model for many of the reforms that came along with the leap campaign.

This study intends to trace these interactions and developments, only partly described in research literature (e.g. Bačkov, 2008; Brunnbauer, 2007), in the archives in Sofia in order to carve out the global power relations behind these transnational interactions.

Moreover, the project furthers some of my earlier investigations by looking at the extent to which Bulgarian decision-makers followed the Chinese model of development. My working hypothesis is that actors in the socialist camp were not exclusively oriented towards Moscow in their search for models of development and technological progress. In this case, they took at least temporarily the self-declared Third World country China as an example as well. My previous findings suggested that the Bulgarian industrialisation campaign was not a comprehensive adoption of the Chinese example. However, the Bulgarian government, some deviating party factions, agriculture specialists and local zealots obviously drew inspiration from the new Far Eastern paradigm. Some readjustments of the agricultural cooperative governance, some of the techniques, as well as new technologies used in the Chinese Great Leap Forward, had been deemed appropriate for the accomplishment of a fast industrialisation conducted in a social environment characterised by a lack of capital and an abundance of labour resources in the countryside. These transfers, and the question of to what degree the Leap-Campaign had a transnational dimension, are the main topics of this study, overshadowing the traditionally debated question of whether the Bulgarian leap was 'Chinese' or 'Soviet' in essence. The project focuses on how the transfers happened, what actors participated in them and whether these issues were debated at all, along with how these factors influenced the course of the industrialisation process in Bulgaria. To accomplish these goals, it makes use of the methods of social and cultural history, rather than the economic sciences, and analyses documents that contain the communication between political decision-makers and implementing actors in the economy. My hope is to reveal the process of development of ideas by unravelling debates and retracing conflicts between factions and interest groups. The overall picture intends to reveal

the degree of transnationality of early Cold War state socialism. I expect to find that the socialist world system was not a Moscow-controlled monolith, but that there were relations between apparent peripheries bypassing Moscow and also transnational interactions beyond party leaderships. In my interpretation, the socialist project of industrialisation opened up space to manoeuvre for actors on the ground and for deviations in the seemingly monolithic bloc.



**Pantelis Charalampakis (Greece)**

BA and MA in History (University of Ioannina, Greece);  
PhD in History (University of Ioannina)

**Affiliation:** Independent Scholar

**Field of Study:** History

**Project Title:**

**The Social, Fiscal and Administrative Status of the Slavic Communities within the Byzantine Empire. A Comparison between the 'Archontia' of the Balkans and the 'Andrapoda' of Asia Minor**

The main purpose of the project is to explore the social, fiscal and administrative status of the Slavs living within the Byzantine Empire from the sixth to the tenth centuries. The research focuses on two major points: the status of the Slavic communities in the southern Balkans and the status of the Slavic population transferred to Asia Minor from the Balkans. A comparison of these communities will cast some light on Byzantium's policy towards the newcomers as subjects.

Recent finds of seals from Byzantine times have added substantially to the research related to the Slavic population living within the borders of the Empire. Although the picture is not entirely complete yet, sigillographic material (i.e. seals used to secure documents), as well as information provided by literary sources and archaeological discoveries reveal much about the centuries that followed the period of the great invasions and the first

settlement of the Slavs in the South of the Danube in the seventh century A.D. According to the oldest theories, based on selected passages from medieval authors, the Slavs had fiercely invaded the southern Balkans by destroying and pillaging places, driving off the native population and settling permanently in the conquered land. However, sufficient evidence has been collected to counter these allegations: not all areas were deserted and the newcomers did not necessarily enter into hostile relations with the locals. Indeed, the number of Slavs inhabiting the southern Balkans was impressive; yet scholars refrain from speaking of a massive 'slavicisation'. Besides, Byzantine authors describe good relations between the various Slavic tribes and the indigenous population. These Slavic tribes, whose names (Drogoubitai, Sagoudatoi, Vechitai, etc.) were mentioned both in texts and seal inscriptions, were neither entirely independent, nor uncontrollable. Despite their occasional attacks on neighbouring cities or uprisings against the central authorities, the Slavs lived in communities ('sklaveniai') which were identical to specific Byzantine administrative areas known as 'archontia', and though headed by a 'chief', were under the supervision of a Byzantine official (the archon). The State used them as manpower and taxpayers, and hence 'Byzantine' did not necessarily denote 'Greek' or 'Roman', but could equally refer to a Slav in service of the Empire. This fact challenges the old theories which referred to the Slavs within the borders of the Empire as 'barbarians' and begs for their re-examination.

Not only are the old theories flawed; there is marked paucity of information regarding those large groups of Slavs – mostly prisoners of war – that had been forcefully transferred by Byzantine emperors from the Balkans to Asia Minor (especially Bithynia) in order to fortify population control and avoid social unrest. While Byzantine authors keep silent about them, lead seals do nevertheless unveil certain evidence about the life of those Slavs in Asia Minor by referring to them as 'andrapoda', i.e. slaves.

So far, research on the Slavic settlements in the Balkans and in Asia Minor has been conducted separately. This project, however, offers a new approach to the topic by focusing on these Slavic communities as a whole and bringing together all the relevant data provided in literary and sigillographic sources. Special emphasis is put on the interpretation of the terms 'archon', 'archontia' and 'andrapoda', as this is an important precondition for a better understanding of the role of the Slavic communities in the social, fiscal and administrative environment of the Byzantine State. Furthermore, although the status of the Slavs living in the Balkans and those forcefully

settled in Asia Minor differs, there is a need to additionally clarify the level (or levels) of divergence – administrative, social, economic or perhaps all three.

The project seeks to provide answers to several vital questions which would help illuminate the picture outlined above:

- What did the terms ‘archontia’ and ‘andrapoda’ really mean?
- What were the criteria for officially calling an area populated by Slavs a ‘province (eparchia) of the enslaved (or prisoner) Slavs’?
- Why do seals cite the ‘kommerkia of the andrapoda’ separately from other kommerkia? And why are there seals mentioning the ‘kommerkia of the andrapoda’ without any reference to Slavs?
- Why is there evidence of officials as governors of the Slavs in the Balkans, but not in Asia Minor?

The study follows the geographical order as described in the title. For each of the two areas, it comparatively examines the Slavs within the administrative, fiscal and social environment of the Empire, thus identifying possible similarities and/or differences in the status of the Slavic communities in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. This will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the life of the Slavic population in the Byzantine Empire, as well as of the mode of administration in the Byzantine Empire itself.



**Sarolta Klenjászky (Hungary)**

BA in History and Sociology (University Lumière Lyon 2, France); MA in Political and Social History (University Nanterre, Paris 10, France); PhD in Contemporary History (Sciences Po, Paris and Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, Hungary)

**Affiliation:** Independent Scholar

**Field of Study:** Contemporary European History, Leftist Political Movements and Parties, Transnational Relations

**Project Title:**

**Cities Against the Iron Curtain?  
The Co-operation of Hungarian  
Towns and Departments with  
their Western Counterparts  
in the Cold War from 1956 to 1989**

Recently, studies on international relations of local authorities have developed in transnational history; yet there are certain disparities regarding Europe in the twentieth century which cannot be ignored. Traditionally, the first half of the century receives more attention, owing to the birth of national and international associations, while works devoted to the period after 1945 focus on Western Europe under the pressure of the political agenda.

The aim of this project is to fill the historiographical gap by analysing the way in which Hungarian communist cities and regions established cooperation with West European local and regional authorities. According to my hypothesis, Hungarian cities were well positioned to benefit from the scope provided by the paradigm of universalism for building relations with capitalist cities. This assumption is supported by the important role which the Hungarian State was assigned in the promotion of European détente, coupled with the parallel decentralisation and professionalisation the governmental system had undergone. Whereas towns served the regime as a tool to substitute diplomatic relations with mistrusted governments in order to foster pacification and détente, the practical realisation of cooperation rested heavily on the activity of local administrations and individuals and like-minded organisations at the international level. Privileging an interdisciplinary approach, this project aims to analyse these actors, institutional structures and their multi-level networks in order to bring out the mechanisms of the cooperation which developed between Hungarian and Western cities under and, later, despite ideological constraints.

A transnational approach may serve as a ‘Historians’ Trojan horse’ (Saunier, 2013) for investigations into the relations of societies, among which the connections of towns and regions, commonly defined as local and meso-level relations below central government, occupy a significant place. However, the historiography of inter-city relations established in Europe in the twentieth century has from two essential discrepancies. The perceptibly increasing interest in the first half of the century might be ascribed to the birth of international associations and the consolidation of nation states after the First World War. This raises the question of whether autonomous cross-border cooperation could be established between societies dominated by patriotic elites and provides a challenge to historians. Authors

who engage in the study of town-twinning movements after 1945 focus their attention on Western Europe under the pressure of debates over European integration and highlight the contribution of municipal bodies to political rapprochement. French and West German cities purportedly furthered the political dialogue and their cooperation was a *sine qua non*, i.e. an essential part of the reconciliation sealed between the two states.

The project aims to remedy these disparities by exploring the development of cooperation established between Hungarian and West European cities in the Cold War. The key role that the Soviet Bloc’s work-sharing principle assigned to Hungary in promoting the *détente* added to the internal decentralisation launched by the Kádár regime at the end of the 1960s and suggests that Hungarian cities were well positioned to become privileged partners with capitalist cities. Besides the historically and linguistically legitimated close ties established with larger Finnish cities from the outset, Hungarian ‘city diplomacy’ in the 1980s targeted smaller West-German communities, too, and especially those situated in two southern departments with massive Hungarian settlements. Thus, while inter-city relations served to sustain the diplomatic rapprochement with West Germany, they also corresponded to people’s desire. By fostering mutual understanding between city dwellers, promoting cultural contacts, creating commercial links and appealing for common economic investment in the homeland or in third countries, they contributed to undermining the Iron Curtain and helped Hungary to return, i.e. get ‘back to Europe’ (Békés, 2004), after forty years of isolation.

Town twinning partnerships exploded worldwide after 1945, and the development of international relations of the socialist cities followed this global trend. The number of Hungarian towns with at least one Western relation rose from 10 in 1963 to 18 in 1975 and to 34 in 1985. The majority of those interconnections, and especially those created after 1968, are still thriving. They demonstrate the viability of the Hungarian twinning strategy and show the embeddedness of these partnerships in the political cultures of foreign cities. In order to overcome the lengthy preconception which confined town twinning relations in the socialist era to ‘political tourism’ and staged folklore events for the unique purpose of obtaining immediate political gains (Mérey, 2011), the project intends to bring out their more profound cultural, economic and social dimensions. It claims that city diplomacy contributed effectively to shaping alliances which facilitated dialogue and promoted cultural exchanges, and assisted in the development of urban politics as a whole. The contract



concluded between a Western and an Eastern city symbolised the free flow of humans and cultural products and mutual understanding between peoples regardless of their political and economic system. Although my project's results will not permit any generalisation regarding the whole of East-Central Europe, it nevertheless argues that for Hungary, the post-Helsinki period corresponded to an irremediable 'flight forwards' in the détente, motivated by political and economic concerns – a circumstance that distinguished it from the other socialist states.



**Tom Jones (Belgium)**

BA in History (Unisa, South Africa), BA and MA in Eastern European Studies (KU Leuven, Belgium), PhD in History (KU Leuven)

**Affiliation:** The Human and Social Studies Foundation, Sofia

**Field of Study:** History, Political Science, Sociology

**Project Title:**

**Student Protest in Bulgaria Revisited: The University Occupation Strikes and the Anti-government Rallies of 2013–2014**

What drives students as a group to engage in political protest? This is a question that has been treated in a plethora of case studies relating to various countries and historical contexts. However, in recent years a series of student protest movements have appeared in the Balkans and in Ukraine that warrant asking the question asked again, in particular given that the participants in these movements represent a generation of youth born after the demise of the communist regimes in the region, and as such their actions can be seen not only within the imagined framework of a seemingly 'global' wave of protest starting with the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street, but also within the more specific context of post-communist transition and European

integration. The proposed project deals with the student protest movement that appeared in Bulgaria in October 2013 and resulted in a three-month-long university occupation strike, which was part of the broader anti-government protests of 2013–2014. It broke out when the overall protest movement was losing energy, and thus managed to revitalise it while, at the same time, it distanced itself from any political affiliation and cautiously identified itself in civic terms as a horizontal movement with decision-making procedures of participatory democracy. Recognising and styling themselves as the generation of a failed post-1989 transition, the student protest movement inspired a critical revaluation of the political processes in the post-socialist decades, and expressed solidarity with the Euromaidan protest in Ukraine.

Drawing upon historical and regional comparisons, the project analyses the reasons for students to engage in civic action, as well as the employed 'repertoire of protest' and the students' self-perception thereof from the immediate perspective of the contemporary political crisis and the broader post-1989 transition period. In addition, it explores the specific student vision of what civil society should constitute by putting it into dialogue with the scholarly literature on post-communist civil society.

Indeed, the Bulgarian case of students' mobilisation, which represents one of the longest lasting continuous developments in the region, was met with some scholarly reflection during and after its occurrence, and both the mass anti-government rallies of the summer of 2013 and the ensuing university occupation strikes have been the subject of contemporary analysis. However, the proposed project aims to venture beyond the scope of these studies and publications by, on the one hand, producing an in-depth study of the student protest movement and its internal and external dynamics, while also, on the other hand, placing it within a historical and geographical comparative framework of student protest movements in the Balkans and Eastern Europe. As such it aims to enhance our understanding of political action by students in the region after 1989, and is based on unique source material – extensive interviews with student protagonists during the protest collected by the author during the protest.

The objective of the project is to produce a comprehensive study of the #OccupySU and the *Ranobudnite Studenti* [Early Rising Students]

movement as a case study of post-1989 student activism by a generation of youth born after the demise of communism (the 'children of the transition', as the activists self-styled themselves during the protest). Apart from chronicling the student protest movement as it appeared and related to the broader protest movement in 2013–2014, the project ventures into some thematic aspects of the student occupation strike. It discusses the organisational problems and goals of the movement through the eyes of its participants as they were reflected within the debates and discussions the students had among themselves. The project frames the understanding of the political situation in the country at that time as well as the ideas concerning the role of students and the concept of what constitutes a civil society from the point of view of the activists themselves. It analyses how students perceived themselves as political activists and actors within the movement, taking into account age differences, disciplinary backgrounds relating to their choice of study as well as the significant differences relating to gender roles and their mutual perception.

Subsequently, the project attempts to assume a comparative historical dimension by assessing the occupation strike and the *Ranobudnite Studenti* movement to previous student protests in Bulgaria, most notably in 1990 and 1997. Following this national comparison, the project hopes to place the Bulgarian case within a transnational (in particular Ukraine) and international context in order to gauge to what degree #OccupySU was *sui generis* and to what extent it paid tribute to and showed similarities with student protests elsewhere. It explores whether one can speak of a continuation of characteristics and repertoires and thus of a type of student protest movement or, conversely, whether a new form or paradigm can be identified.

Due to the uniqueness of the source material used, as well as the novel approach adopted, the project aims to fill a void in the existing scholarly literature on student politics. The final outcome of the project will be the production of a monograph in English for which one international publisher has already shown interest. Ideally, at a later stage, the monograph would also see a Bulgarian-language version for a potential Bulgarian audience.



**Toni Veneri (Italy)**

MA in Modern Literature (University of Trieste);  
Diploma in Archives Administration, Palaeography and  
Diplomatics (State Archive, Trieste); PhD in Humanities  
(University of Trieste)

**Affiliation:** Istituto Gramsci del Friuli Venezia Giulia,  
Trieste

**Field of Study:** Cultural History – History  
of Cartography

**Project Title:**  
**Framing the Edges of Europe:**  
**Turns in Cartographical Regionalisation**

Within the many disciplinary traditions that fostered processes of regionalisation across Europe in early modern and modern times, the contribution of cartography seems obvious. In shaping 'regional' imaginaries, maps offered a tool that was malleable enough to visualise existing geographical areas variously characterised in ethnic, political, physical, and historical terms, and at the same time was capable of quickly reflecting the constitution of new political or administrative regions. This view is supported by the historical evidence that, from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, a new comprehension of geographical space – understood as quantitative, homogeneous and measurable – gradually empowered cartography both as a scientific field and as a tool in support of emergent techniques of early modern state power. As Ptolemy's instructions and prescriptions were fully acquired by European cosmographers – i.e. a mathematical procedure was adopted to locate places (the grid), and a distinction was made among cosmographical, geographical, chorographical and topographical representations – modern maps apparently granted compilers the unprecedented liberty of moving through different scales.

However, due to the codification of geographical literary genres and processes nurturing the print industry, cartographical framings

remained a distinctive – and, I would say, conservative – feature in an otherwise dynamic production of maps. Rather than a flexible tool providing mere visual illustrations for political and administrative entities or historical and antiquarian provinces, maps were inherently categorised based on the framings they adopted. In this view, the introduction of new framings was intended to define a specific geographical area and so acquired great significance that warrants our attention. At the same time, 'traditional' or established framings should be re-considered as the outcome of multiple negotiations between alternative, and often incommensurate, geographical models.

Traditionally in the history of cartography, the 'genealogic' study of framings has been reserved for well-known maps or undertaken in order to document the influence or fortune of specific authors. My project aims at exploring processes of conceptualisation of regions in early modern times through the specific lens of cartographic framings. As a case study for such an investigation, I believe that the area stretching from the Eastern Baltic Sea to the Balkan Peninsula is one of the most challenging and interesting in terms of cartographical representations. The reason is simple: via overlapping regional divisions that shifted throughout time, a continental separation between Europe and Asia was implied in the marking of the borders of these regions. The importance of such separation – one of the few features of the medieval *imago mundi* inherited by modern cartography – becomes critical here, as no clear geographical limits stand out as for the other continental divisions. In geographical thinking, the categorisation of east European regions included certain controversies; hence the importance of geographical works that provide a systematic regional division of the territory – from Ptolemy's *Geographia* (updated since 1508) to Christoph Cellarius's *Geographia antiqua* (1687). While Humanism fostered the recovery of ancient place names and the birth of a 'historical' cartography, with clearly marked and illustrated divisions (e.g. the classical regions of Sarmatia, Scythia, Moesia, Dacia, Thracia), new regional entities, unknown in Antiquity, were introduced in maps (e.g. Germania/Europa Transvistulana, Germano-Sarmatia, Rumelia). Therefore, the object of my research is to unveil the competition and co-existence of alternative regional definitions as well as their corresponding cartographical framings, and to bring to light the contribution of maps to processes of both internal and external regionalisation.

The project builds on my on-going, long-term investigation of changing paradigms in the geographical representation of the world, which has included studies of journeys from Venice to Constantinople, as well as Renaissance spatial theories. The project does not simply seek to explore cartographic issues, but also engages with broad scientific and cultural turns on a larger historical scale. It is designed to contribute to the academic field of research which envisions 'how European transnational historical regions have been conceptualised over time, across different disciplines and academic traditions'.

The first phase of the proposed research focuses on reviewing the early modern regional and macro-regional maps that depict the alleged eastern borders of Europe stretching from Constantinople to the Baltic regions, which are preserved in the maps and graphics collections of the National Library in Sofia. Special attention will be paid to the single-framed sheets and atlases from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which provide a chorographic, i.e., regional illustration of the territory. Furthermore, secondary sources such as digitised collections from foreign libraries and contemporary paper publications will be considered, too, to render the investigation as exhaustive as possible.

In its second phase, the project deals with the classification of the collected data according to date of publication, area of production, language adopted and, where possible, the purpose or the audience interested. A distinction will be made between maps depicting the contemporary geographical setup of the region and 'historical' maps drawn by ancient authors and portraying the same areas with divisions and place names applied in the past. Possible turns in the cartographical conceptualisation of regions as marked with the introduction of borders on the surface of maps, and hence indicative of new framings, will be assessed within the historical context of their production. This will question the extent to which cartography was capable of reflecting or, in fact, was subject to changes in the political scenery of its time.

# The Gerda Henkel Fellowship

In October 2015, the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia launched the first Call for Applications for its newly established *Gerda Henkel* Fellowship for Fundamental Research in the Fields of the Humanities and the Social Sciences. The in-residence fellowships are granted within the framework of the CAS Advanced Academia Programme and aim to support PhD holders from the countries of Afghanistan, Belarus, China (Tibet and Xinjiang Autonomous Regions only), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

The Gerda Henkel Foundation is a private, nonprofit organisation, with its headquarters in Düsseldorf and active inside and outside Germany. The sole object of the Foundation is to promote scholarship at universities and research institutes, primarily by supporting specific projects in the field of the humanities that have a specialist scope and a clear deadline. For a number of years, the Foundation has been increasingly addressing issues of great relevance to contemporary life and the future.

The *Gerda Henkel* Fellowship imposes no thematic restrictions on prospective CAS Fellows as regards their project topics. In addition to a 750 euro monthly scholarship (travel, visa and accommodation expenses are covered separately), the *Gerda Henkel* Fellowship provides fellows with an excellent opportunity to benefit from CAS's facilities – office, library, access to online resources, etc. – as well as become members of CAS's vibrant international scholarly community. Fellows are expected to participate in the various events held at CAS, present and discuss their research findings in lectures or seminars, and summarise their project results for the electronic CAS Working Paper Series. Fellows are also encouraged to come up with ideas regarding the organisation of workshops or seminars of their own. The working language of all events is English.



**Iurii Zazuliak (Ukraine)**

MA in Medieval Studies (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary); PhD in History (Ivan Franko State University of Lviv, Ukraine); PhD in Medieval Studies (Central European University, Budapest)

**Affiliation:** Institute of Ukrainian Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

**Field of interest:** Late medieval and early modern history of East-central Europe

**Project Title:**

**Landscape, Law and Memory:  
Forging the Local Tradition and  
the Perambulations of Estates'  
Boundaries in the Kingdom of Poland  
during the fifteenth and sixteenth  
centuries**

My project focuses on the interrelation between oral and written modes of communication in the context of disputes over the boundaries of village communities and noble estates in the Kingdom of Poland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is situated against the theoretical framework of recent historical literature devoted to different aspects of the relationships between written and oral forms of communication in medieval culture and society. In particular, my research has been inspired by recent historical studies that highlight the performative capacities that the written documents acquired as means of proof in the process of dispute settlement (P. Geary, G. Koziol). These studies investigate the process of recording the unwritten law, its cultural and institutional implications for the formation of the local tradition and its relations to the lordship and local governance (G. Algazi, S. Teuscher), and have introduced a new research agenda on medieval literacy, memory and law to historical studies of late medieval Poland and adjacent regions (P. Gorecki, Gr. Myśliwski).

Chronologically, the project covers the period from the 1450s to the 1550s, embracing a period which was a turning point in the history of literacy and record making in late medieval Galician Rus'. It was marked by a radical shift in the status of the written document which

changed the social and cultural landscape of the region, and resulted in the emergence of a novel literate mentality characterised by new attitudes towards the written word. Care for the systematic accumulation and preservation of official and private documents and a sharp awareness of the role of the written document as a key instrument in exercising power and the administration of justice were among the most characteristic traits of this newly emerged literate mentality in fifteenth-century Galicia (known also as Red Ruthenia or Halych Rus', and constituting the territory of present-day eastern Poland and western Ukraine).

The disputes over the boundaries of village communities and noble estates were complex social and legal processes, as the adjudication and establishment of the border lines were accomplished not only by erecting special landmarks, but also by scrutinizing, fixing and specifying various aspects of local knowledge about land property rights and details of landscape attached to them. It required acquiring information about the customs of land usage and taxes, collecting the pieces of the locality's past through inquiries into the histories of its places and people, as well as confirming old customs and rights and instituting new ones. The law as it manifested itself in the disputes and perambulation of the boundaries of property reveals one of its fundamental capacities, which Clifford Geertz described as 'a craft of place' which 'works in the light of local knowledge'.

My research starts with the premise of the special role that the interplay of literacy and oral tradition had in the process of constituting and reshaping local traditions in the context of the border perambulations. I suggest that local tradition, embedded in the specific features and histories of the landscape, land-ownership and borders, emerged as a result of the complex process of the encounter and interaction between the writing and oral culture. The principal objective of the study is to demonstrate how various forms of local knowledge which were transmitted mostly through oral communication were not only exploited in the course of boundary disputes and perambulations, but were also adjusted, reshaped and stabilised due to the complex influence of the institutions and practices of lordship and royal governance based on the new kind of pragmatic and administrative literacy which became widespread in the Kingdom of Poland during the later Middle Ages.

To fulfill this purpose I propose to concentrate on several specific research areas and problems. Firstly, I would like to focus on the category of villagers whom legal records designated as *senes*. Traditionally, these elder

members of village communities were called to assist the settlement of disputes with nobles and the perambulation of the borders of estates as they served as the 'legal memory' of a specific community. I am interested in examining how the testimonies of elders influenced the course of disputes, and how their oral statements were used and assessed by court jurors or royal commissars in relation to written instruments of proof, whose significance for the border demarcations was on the rise during the given period. In addition, an analysis of the elders' testimony also provides unique glimpses of the crucial role local tradition played in the local politics of property relations and communal identities. I suggest that contradictions and doubts found in elders' testimonies can be understood better if one considers the social memory and local tradition in the context of their significance for the formation and maintenance of group identities of village communities.

Secondly, I would like to investigate the role of the writing as evidence in the perambulations of estate boundaries. One of the major consequences of the transformation of the local oral knowledge under the impact of the expanded uses of writing in the dispute settlements was a rise of a new type of 'written archives of tradition'. The oral testimonies of the elders and other witnesses, while having been recorded in the course of perambulations, started to function within a different framework of the written law and acquired a status of the written evidence. In my analysis, I am especially interested to examine how the written documents operated within the broader communicative process that accompanied disputes over boundaries. The legal records often state that the written documents were presented at the court proceedings, discussed by parties and jurors, drew support from witnesses and were challenged by rivals at different stages of the dispute. Therefore, besides the analysis of the composition and structure of the documents of perambulations, I also intend to investigate a variety of contexts in which the written documents acted as legal proofs and to study how they were mediated by the oral procedures of the court and disputing strategies of the parties.

Yet another aspect of the uses of writing which I would like to address concerns the interrelation between the written document and the visual observation involved in the demarcation of boundaries. The interconnectedness of the physical-spatial and textual dimensions in the perambulations explains the permanent recourse to visualisation as well as to oral testimonies used to verify, refute or re-confirm the description of the borderline signs available in the texts of documents and legal records. I intend to show

that the procedure of the visual observation of boundaries due to its public and collective character was of no less significance than the document itself.



**Zafar Najmiddinov (Uzbekistan)**

BA, MA and PhD in Historical Islam Studies (Tashkent State Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan)

**Affiliation:** Namangan School with the Advanced Study of History

**Field of Study:** Historical Islamic Studies

**Project Title:**

**Juridical Works of Hanafi School:  
A Critical Study as a Source for the  
Socio-Political History of Central Asia**

The Mongol invasion caused changes in the development of society. Local Muslims faced a new religious system and customs that substantially differed from the ones they had known before. The Mongols also had an influence on the ethnic situation. After the Mongol princes adopted Islam and became leaders of khanates, they promoted the local version of the Hanafi legal school that had assimilated nomadic elements and in some cases differed from its original Middle Eastern form.

In my opinion, most previous studies on Central Asian history have been based on medieval historical works and have all but ignored Hanafi legal works, in particular *fiqh* and *fatwa* collections. Yet *fatwa* collections include valuable historical material, as *fiqh* and *fatwas* developed alongside the society. Generally, Hanafi works reveal that while the elite and learned class spoke Arabic, the ordinary people used Persian as the language of communication. Local Hanafi jurists wrote books in Arabic, but answered questions and consequently issued *fatwas* in Persian. Meanwhile, Turkic was in use, too. Hanafi literature is essential for historical studies, as it provides a unique insight into the Mongol conquest of the region as well as its aftermath. Simultaneously, it is an excellent source for the economic, cultural, ethnographic and linguistic history of the region while also preserving witnesses' narratives.

The objective of the current project is to



# CAS FELLOWS' INTERVIEWS

- illuminate the role which the Hanafi jurists played in social, political and economic life;
- elucidate the evolution of fatwās on irrigation, agriculture and farming in the region;
- reveal the differences between the attitudes of the ruling dynasties (Qarakhitays, Mongols, Timurids) towards Hanafi traditions;
- explain methods of fiqh teaching in the region (imlā' etc);
- explicate the historical context behind the pro-government and anti-government fatwas;
- investigate the interaction between the Mongol yasa and the Muslim Shari'a law in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries;
- identify the most important religious texts that served as sources for the legitimization of Timurids and Shaybanids; as well as
- re-assess earlier studies with the help of newly-found sources.

My research is based on the following preliminary hypotheses:

- since Hanafism pays a great deal of attention to custom ('urf, 'adah) it was more likely to be favoured by the Mongols, as it gave them the opportunity to reconcile a nomadic lifestyle with Islam;
- jurists (*fuqaha*) always depended on ruling dynasties. The relations between them were usually based on a mutual understanding of each other's benefits;
- generally, the Qarakhitays and Mongols tolerated the main Islamic customs, thus keeping the legal sciences from decline;
- in the thirteenth century, the Mongols and the Turkic tribes had common ethnic roots.

The project focuses on, though it is not limited to, questions like:

- What was the Islamic scholars' reaction to the Mongol invasion?
- How far did the Hanafi legal works express the political and economic interests of the local elites?
- To what degree were they independent from the ruling establishment?
- How far could opposition to the Mongols and their successor dynasties be expressed in legal genres like *fatwa* collections and treatises of law?
- Which were the most important topics that were discussed, and why?
- Which religious texts were used by the Timurids and Shaybanids to legitimise their rule?
- What was the status of local languages (Khwarezmian, Sogdian, Tajik) under Mongol rule?
- How far does the influence of early Hanafi traditions affect the everyday life of modern Hanafi Muslims?

Talking to CAS Fellows has always been a stimulating experience. Their diverse international knowledge and broad range of academic and intellectual expertise crisscross at CAS, turning the Centre into a multi-faceted, intercultural location – a true meeting point of cultures and scholarly perspectives. Any interview with them broadens the mind and formulates further questions about the past, the present and the world we live in, leaving lasting memories with the editor, and lingering on CAS Newsletter pages to hopefully challenge the reader's imagination, too.





**Assoc. Professor Anni Ilkov** teaches Literature and Creative Writing at Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski'. He has been a guest lecturer at University College London, UK, and Delhi University, India. Ilkov is a co-founder of the highly esteemed Bulgarian literary journal *Literaturen Vestnik*. He is considered one of the most gifted contemporary Bulgarian poets and writers. His collection of political pamphlets, *The Kidnapping of Bulgaria (2002–2009)* (2014), has had stirring impact on Bulgarian public opinion, while his poetic volume, *Preparing the Heart for Departure* (2015), was awarded the prestigious Peroto and Nikolai Kanchev national awards.



**Assoc. Professor Moris Fadel** lectures in Literary Theory and the History of Bulgarian, Russian and West European Literatures at New Bulgarian University, Sofia. His further research interests are in the fields of Philosophy and Sociology. M. Fadel is actively engaged in the long-term research programmes on *The Literature of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (1946–1990)* and *Contemporary Bulgarian Literature (post-1990)* at the Department of Modern Bulgarian Literature, NBU. Among his latest monographs is *The Animal as a Literary Provocation: Emilian Stanev's Animality*, Sofia (2010).



**Dr Cristian Cercel (Romania)** holds a BA in European Studies (University of Bucharest), an MA in Nationalism (Central European University, Budapest) and a doctoral degree in Politics from Durham University (UK). He was awarded postdoctoral fellowships from New Europe College (Bucharest), the Centre for Contemporary German Culture (Swansea University) and the Centre for Advanced Study, Sofia (2015). His field of academic interest is Memory Studies. Besides publishing in scholarly journals and volumes, he has contributed to the Romanian cultural weekly Cultural Observer [*Observator Cultural*], as well as the British national daily newspaper *The Guardian*.

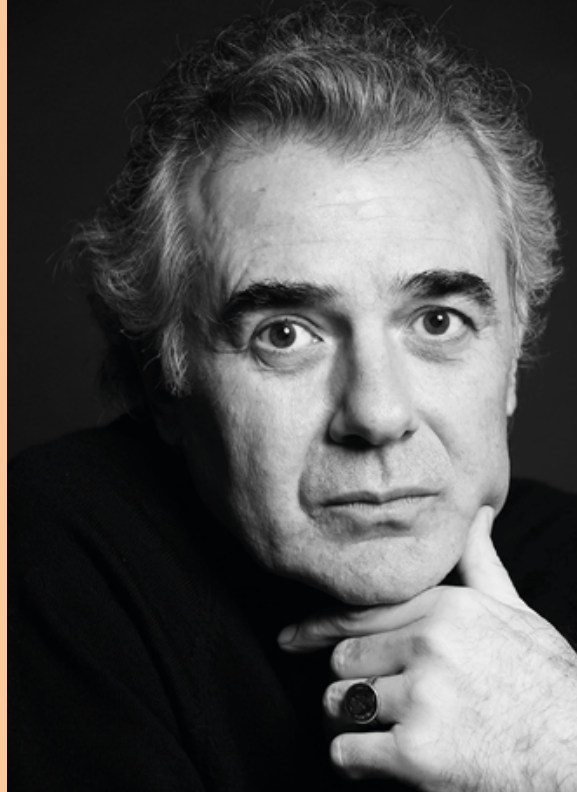


**Dr Dimitrios Gkintidis (Greece)** studied Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies at the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, and Sociology at the University of Strasbourg II Marc Bloch (MA). He received his doctoral degree from the Department of Balkan, Slavic, and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, specialising in Social Anthropology. He was awarded an A.G. Leventis Fellowship in Contemporary Greek Studies at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, and postdoctoral fellowships at the Seeger Centre for Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, and the Centre for Advanced Study, Sofia (2015). Dr Gkintidis's academic interests include state institutions and the dominant political class in Greece, as well as the shifting contours of European Integration.



# The Frail Contrast between Mankind's Abilities and the Death of the Sun ...

## An Interview with Anni Ilkov



**Your research at CAS focuses on *Literaturen Vestnik*, a pioneering literary journal initiated in the 1990s, and which you co-founded. In 2016, the journal is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. What are the similarities and differences between *Literaturen Vestnik* then and now?**

**Anni Ilkov:** *Literaturen Vestnik* was conceived and developed by a group of enthusiasts who were associated with the Bulgarian *samizdat* magazines *Voice* and *Bridge*. However, the actual battle for a new type of literature and literary policies in Bulgaria had already begun in the mid-1980s, with the dawn of the Gorbachov era. The era's socio-critical and liberal spirit lies behind the genesis and format of the journal; it also underpinned its specific innovative foundation and promoted a new aesthetics that unfolded on its pages. In the beginning, *Literaturen Vestnik* exerted a substantial impact on the political sphere. To be more specific, the artist Stefan Despodov's contribution to the journal's visual design was indispensable: it was exclusively his work that lent the journal its grotesque, carnival feel. Overall, *Literaturen Vestnik* delegitimised the communist ethos of a stale, tight-fisted, ideologically anxious life and writing, and provided a chance

for liberal freedoms to penetrate the lives and worlds of both readers and writers. In its essence, it assumed the role of a 'small literary revolution'.

Now, the journal has changed. Its carnival spirit has vanished, fading once Stefan Despodov left (he quit as he could not connect with the new editorial team). With time, its political colours faded away, leaving a certain quasi-academic, colourless impartiality behind... However, one should admit that today, communication has undergone radical changes even in the field of literature. Hence the expectations for new ideas to situate the journal within the context of present-day realities – social media and electronic sites, the post-intellectual anarchist freedoms ... For now, *Literaturen Vestnik* maintains and supports the status quo.

**How has the image of the intellectual changed if one compares the intelligentsias from the pre-electronic and the Internet ages?**

**A.I.:** The term 'intellectual' should be discarded as void of meaning. Today we are living in a world full of celebrities, TV personalities, and pundits. The contemporary intellectual is a pseudo-scholarly, traditionally left-wing 'theoretician',

claiming expertise and striving to achieve the status of membership in one of the above-mentioned categories. The first example that crosses my mind is Slavoj Žižek from Slovenia. Social standing, which used to be part and parcel of an intellectual's attribute in society, has been politically and culturally disqualified. In fact, it is gone now. Yet, there is also the case of Arundhati Roy, an Indian writer living in Delhi, who is a true intellectual despite all this. Compared to her, Salman Rushdie, living in New York, is a writing trickster. This contrast illustrates the crisis which Western values are undergoing in the West.

**You teach a course on nineteenth-century Bulgarian Revival Literature at Sofia University. Bulgaria's current socio-political and cultural field abounds with references to the deeds and works of the national heroes from those days. However, how would those national heroes thrive if they were miraculously teleported into our twenty-first-century society?**

**A.I.:** My favourite character from that era is Georgi Rakovski. He was the first to grasp the nature of the European revolutions of his time, and his life as Bulgaria's first revolutionary was almost exemplary.





Today he would be personally in charge of arresting and putting to trial the so-called 'political class' in the country, and usurping their power, too.

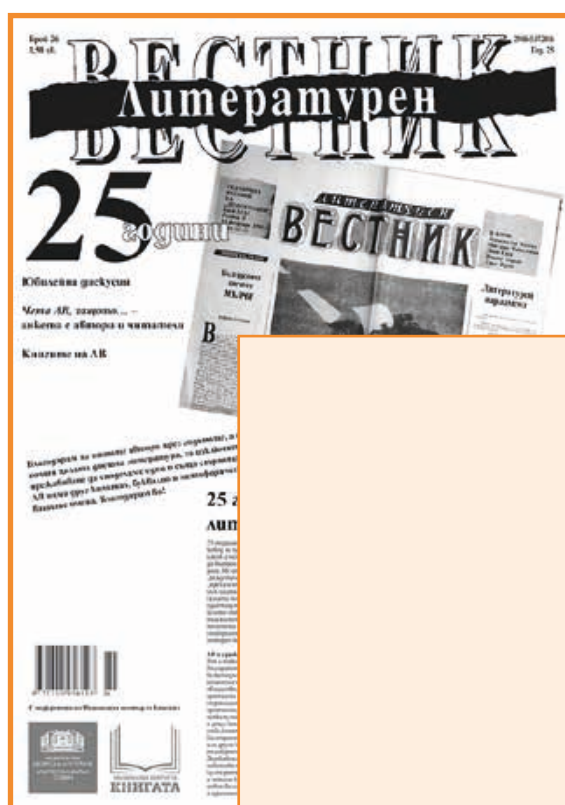
**You also teach Creative Writing. Can talent be mastered in class?**

**A.I.:** I believe that prose, whether fiction or journalism, can be taught. All it requires is skills and diligence on the part of the toiling learner. Yet poetry is different. Here comes the mystery of youth – young people prefer poetry. It seems that only in poetry does the word exert a direct impact on life.

**In an interview for Bulgarian National Radio, you mentioned that the future of society is in its technical conversion and transubstantiation. Would this mean a victory of rationality over spirituality?**

**A.I.:** The postmodern worlds are not simply techno-scientific *per se*, but techno-scientific in their intentions, too. This increasingly puts them in jeopardy. Today the spirit is manifested in the frail contrast between mankind's abilities and the death of the Sun ...

Interviewed by the Editor



# Representations of the Bulgarian Spy in Communist Spy Fiction

## An Interview with Moris Fadel



**I cannot think of any other study that likens a literary genre – the spy novel – to a success story of communism. Could you provide our readership with some background of the history of the Bulgarian spy novel and its transformations under the communist regime?**

**Dr Moris Fadel:** Spy fiction is an enticing yet undeservedly understudied field in Bulgaria. Overall, the spy genre started in the late nineteenth century, yet it was only after the Second World War that it flourished, thriving on the Cold War division of Europe. Spy fiction is reminiscent of crime fiction, but it differs substantially. While crime fiction deals with pre-modern values, such as justice and the belief in justice, spy fiction takes the reader into the world of conspiracies, secret powers and the poetics of cynicism. As a researcher I am interested in the transformations that the genre of espionage underwent under the impact of communist ideology and how these changes were reflected in both fiction and film. In Eastern Europe, spy fiction earned enormous success in the 1960s and 70s, which cannot be attributed merely to the political strategies implemented by the regime. In fact, spy novels gained spontaneous popularity with the public and were read voraciously. Although they reiterated the role of communist ideology in society and served the regime, they were avidly enjoyed by the audience. This is a paradox which is fundamental for my research at CAS.

**Was there a direct link between the developmental stages of the Communist Party and the growth of spy fiction in Bulgaria?**

**M.F.:** The impetus for the emergence of spy fiction came once the style of socialist realism, sanctioned by the communist state in art, went into decline in the post-1950s and its popularity amongst readers dropped. The 1960s witnessed the crisis of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the formation of dissident movements, the Prague Spring... Hence the advance of the spy novel in literature was coupled with the established image of the enemy in the communist paradigm. Ideologically, the communist state was one of eternal justice, the fairest place to live in. Hence, crime and evil required a political explanation; they could only come from outside, generated by the enemies of the communist system: agents of the western secret services or opponents of the ruling ideology.

In the Soviet Union, many spy writers were linked to the KGB as spy fiction was officially endorsed by the Soviet state. The spy novel and spy film were deployed as a successful tool in the battle against ideological nonconformists. They helped the regime regain part of its reputation and approval.

**What did a typical communist spy in fiction look like?**

**M.F.:** The literary image of the Bulgarian spy differed substantially from people in real life and was also less openly connected to the official communist ideology. His fictional version is that of an intellectual who knows his game. He is powerful, secretive and cynical, as well as emotionally cold and distant. His behaviour lacks passion and is in stark contrast to the emotionality of socialist society. In fact, thinking





of writer Bogomil Rainov's legendary character Emil Boev, the spy in communist fiction is reminiscent of a bourgeois decadent: he smokes expensive French cigarettes, drinks a lot... This turns him into a highly enigmatic figure for the socialist reader, since his lifestyle represents the western way of life longed for by the socialist audience. Yet, he remains a fighter for communism.

However, there are also images of children in the Bulgarian espionage literature, as in Pavel Vezhinov's novels, for example. There, children are trained to detect enemies of the communist state and become heroes by unveiling western spies hidden in socialist society.

**Fascinating! What about women in the communist spy literature? Is there a 'Bond girl' in it?**

**M.F.:** Women do not occupy a significant place in the spy novel. Emil Boev, for instance, is depicted as an exceedingly good-looking man, vastly admired by women. He engages in numerous sexual affairs, but his involvement is mechanical rather than emotional. He never shows love and chooses to stay single. In this respect, he is hardly human; he embodies Kant's idea of genius – a person entirely different from his surroundings, free of

connections to the world.

**Was the image of the communist spy evocative of an East European version of James Bond, then?**

**M.F.:** In 1970 Bogomil Rainov published an important study called *Roman Noir*, where he analysed the main features of the crime and spy genres. *Roman Noir* is a document which can be read as a methodological guidebook to his novels. Of course, Emil Boev is suggestive of Agent 007, but Bond's character is stable and almost frozen in time. Boev's personality, in contrast, is far more reminiscent of Raymond Chandler's fictional character Philip Marlowe. Rainov was interested in the psychological processes through which his character passes.

**How did the image of the communist spy evolve over time?**

**M.F.:** As time progresses, Bogomil Rainov's character becomes more courteous, but also grows increasingly tired. However, all in all, the figure of the literary spy is not expected to change essentially but to remain steady. Such are the requirements of the genre.

Interviewed by the Editor

# Memories of Deportation and Overlapping Images of Identity

## An Interview with Cristian Cercel



**You have been in Sofia for four months so far. How are you feeling at CAS?**

**Cristian Cercel:** Sofia isn't very different from Bucharest, except for the language. The city gives me a cozy feeling and I am very relaxed here. CAS provides me with an excellent opportunity to concentrate on my research and write some articles, too.

**You are working on the memory of deportation of Romanian Germans to the Soviet Union in 1945. Please share with our readership some details about the deportees you are dealing with in your study.**

**C.C.:** In August 1944, Romania changed sides in the war and thus, overnight, the German ethnic minority in the country became 'the enemy within'. In 1945, under Soviet pressure, about 70,000–80,000 ethnic Germans were forcefully deported from Romania to the Soviet Union to take part in the so-called 'reconstruction' of the country. We speak about men in the age range of seventeen to forty-five, and women between eighteen and thirty. The deportees were about forty percent men and sixty percent women: most men had been involved in the war, in the SS and in the Wehrmacht; others had also been conscripted in the Romanian army. This explains the gender imbalance. Their

main placements were the Donetsk region and the Ural. About fifteen percent of those people died during the deportation; others were set free for health reasons in 1946–1947 as they were rendered unable to work. The majority of deportees were released in 1949 and sent back to Romania. However, some were redirected to the Soviet occupation zone in Germany. Later, they either returned to Romania or moved to what became Western Germany.

**What instigated your academic interest in the topic of memory and deportation of the ethnic Germans in Romania?**

**C.C.:** Little if anything was officially known about the deportation in socialist Romania, as this facet of the country's war experience was not included in the official state discourse. Only after 1989 did the deportation of Romanian Germans to the Soviet Union become the focus of an abundance of historical studies. Yet, the memory aspect of this expatriation process is less researched.

However, at CAS I realised I had to expand my analysis by taking into consideration the broader historical perspective. One cannot ignore the detail that in 1943, about 65,000 Romanian Germans had been enlisted in the SS. It is problematic



Traditionally German (Saxon or Swabian) territories in Transylvania

to focus on Romanian German victimisation without addressing the manifestations of National Socialism within the Romanian German communities during the Second World War. Nor can one omit the fact that in 1944, ethnic Germans from Transylvania, then under German authority, had fled to Austria and Southern Germany and thus avoided deportation. During the Cold War, some of them emigrated to France, Canada, the USA and even Brazil. So my study has evolved in my time here, and what I am trying to do is to reconsider the narrative of Romanian German victimhood by linking the memories of the deportation to the actual participation of Romanian Germans in the war in a more comprehensive context. This broader perspective helps me introduce additional aspects to my work, such as the relationship between Romanian German victimhood and the Holocaust, for instance.

### What sources do you utilise in your investigations?

**C.C.:** There were some interesting oral history studies conducted and interviews published after 1989 which I am incorporating in my research. Some of my foremost sources, however, are newspaper publications, mainly in West Germany. A number of Romanian German *Landmannschaften*, i.e. homeland

associations abroad, issued their own periodicals, which offer a wealth of material with regard to memory and identity discourses. These are the so-called *Heimatblätter*, periodicals which appeared once or twice a year; they provide insight into the life of those displaced Romanian Germans in West Germany and Austria, as well as their perceptions of what was going on in Romania. They also give a good understanding of the transnational discourses among the Romanian German émigré communities and organisations. In addition, there are valuable archival sources in Gundelsheim/Neckar and in the archives of the Lutheran Church in Sibiu (Romania). I managed to locate sermons of a Lutheran bishop reflecting on the issue of deportation. And let's not forget some important literary works, such as 'The Hunger Angel' (*Der Atemschaukel*, 2009) by Nobel Prize winner Herta Müller.

### You are looking at different levels of memory – local, national, transnational. How do they diverge from each other? Are there instances of intersection amongst them, too?

**C.C.:** The question is how to emphasise the local dimensions when expats live all around the world. With respect to this, the *Landmannschaften* of the Romanian Germans in West Germany are

a good illustration of how the local and the transnational converge. Although they attempted to assume the management of Romanian German identities and official memories within the context of German victimhood, due to the need for a political integration in a broader 'German expellee' community in the 1950s and 60s, the emphasis fell on the plight of the Saxons from Northern Transylvania. The latter bore more similarities to the deportation experiences of the German communities in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia during the war. Also, while Romanian Germans referred to their deportation, captivity and forced labour experience in the Soviet Union as one 'behind barbed wire' (*hinter Stacheldraht*), this metaphor invokes additional connotations related to Holocaust imagery.

### Leaving CAS and Sofia in a few weeks, what memories will you take with you?

**C.C.:** Working in a very friendly environment, meeting people who helped me explore my topic of interest from another perspective and advance my work...Memories of Sofia in the early spring – the nice, warm weather and how unexpectedly it turned white in March...

Interviewed by the Editor

# The Gift in Contemporary European Politics

## An Interview with Dimitrios Gkintidis



**Your research at CAS provocatively addresses morality and politics in contemporary Greece. Aren't these concepts mutually exclusive?**

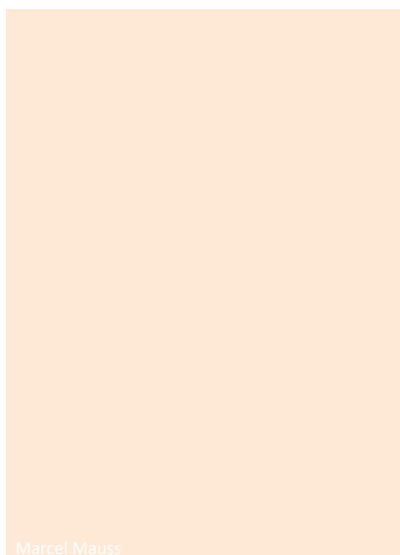
**Dr Dimitrios Gkintidis:** There are different ways of understanding politics and this bears specific epistemological implications. My research in Sofia focuses on the idea of the European Union's developmental funding and its symbolic construction in the terms of aid, i.e. as an 'EU gift' to Greece. I aim to analyse how the idea of the gift enhances the formulation of politics as one of moral, reciprocal relations between mutually accountable partners. This relation should be initially differentiated from the relationship between debtors and creditors, since it relies on non-legal obligations. Therefore, I am trying to see how the politics between Greece and the EU has been shaped by the idea of European solidarity and generosity in the past, and how the current discourse on obligation and debt – the obligation of Greece to repay her debts – exceeds the framework of legal obligations and communicates with memories of past 'aid'. The idea of foundational acts of generosity or solidarity also fuels expectations for a more 'generous', more 'solidarity-based' politics in the EU. I am trying to deconstruct these assumptions and this commonsensical perception of politics as a relation of good moral intentions.

**According to French sociologist Marcel Mauss, a gift implies not simply giving, but also reciprocity and bonding. If you reject a gift, it might lead to the rejection of a social relationship. However,**

**if you fail to reciprocate, this will leave an impact on perceptions such as generosity, wealth, honour ...**

**D.G.:** The idea of the gift is neither politically nor ideologically neutral. In fact, to a great extent it can function as a different presentation of the debt theory. What I am interested in is the way Marcel Mauss, the author of *The Gift* which largely became the foundation of social theories of reciprocity and exchange, tried to present the idea of the gift in the inter-war period as a precept of social action in modern societies. Mauss made an interesting point: noble, i.e. wealthy people should remind themselves of a more romantic past and thus reintroduce the principle of generosity as a social attitude. Mauss was a socialist; yet his theoretical position differed from the Marxist approach of social process as a course of opposition. In a way, what Mauss formulated seemed to become a politics of solidarity under capitalism and shaped welfare policies in domestic politics... Going back to the core of this idea and its variations throughout the twentieth century, and especially in the Euro-American world, I am analysing how it bolstered the action of various dignitaries – dominant social agents and classes, powerful Western states – and what quality shift this action underwent, taking the form of a morally charged process of 'helping'. Furthermore, I am trying to understand how the normative idea of the gift is crucial for interpreting social relations in terms of exchange and obligations, and then link my findings to the discourse on pending moral obligations in Greece.





Marcel Mauss

To sum up, my research at CAS makes a connection between the politics of the gift, and the idea of gifts and aid with a process through which economic and capitalist failure, underdevelopment and inequality are relocated from a structural analysis of capitalism to the realm of one's personal, moral conduct.

In the case of Greece, this is best encapsulated in the discourse of corruption which was largely introduced in parallel to instances of developmental aid. I am elaborating on a causal relation between developmental aid and the discourse of

corruption, greed, and cultural introspection. According to this line of thought, Greeks were often given aid, which they nonetheless squandered away; hence, the problem and responsibility lie with them. Clearly, this moral reflection is indicative of a wider analytical shift, from understanding capitalism and its crises as an inevitably contradictory process which accounts for poverty and inequality to assessing each conduct as greedy, corrupt, uninterested, good or bad. This has strong political connotations as it relocates the whole problem: instead of analysing capitalism in itself, we are analysing people's behaviour. This is a kind of moral politics which gained significant impetus since the consolidation of neoliberalism in the 1970s, and which I am exploring.

**How would you interpret Prime Minister Tsipras's rejection of the proposal made by Greece's European creditors as 'absurd'?**

**D.G.:** As a political anthropologist, I can say that current Greek-EU politics does not really deviate from what has been going on previously. Indeed, Syriza has taken so far (June 2015) a much stronger oppositional stance in foreign affairs, but if we retrace the course of this party, we will find it entrenched in Greek capitalism's pro-EU orientation. Most technical cadres of the party agree with the so-called European social model, as well as with the idea of a foundational paternalism of the European Union dating back to the 1980s.

**As a Greek, how would you respond to the crisis?**

**D.G.:** I have been both inside and outside Greece during the crisis: when the crisis began, I happened to be summoned for military service; then I left to work at Oxford, Princeton and now, CAS in Sofia. However, I could see how Greek society was changing for the worse, and how the social gap was widening. I also noticed how old issues would resurface. There was continuity.

**Has your stay at CAS provided you with new research ideas and perspectives?**

**D.G.:** Here I got involved in the process of formulating my research project within a more pronounced historical frame. I would definitely give credits to CAS for this as I have had the opportunity to interact with researchers from various disciplines, and especially historians and scholars like Professor Avramov or Dr Cercel. Also, I have met people from countries which only recently became members of the European Union. They come from various political and epistemological backgrounds and hence, have different views on EU funds and moral debates. This interaction brings up questions about how we understand liberalism, individualism, the cause of social problems, the growing obsession with 'corruption' and 'flawed' conducts, etc. It is offering new and diverse perspectives to my work.

Interviewed by the Editor

## An Interview with Julian Chehirian

# Psychiatry and its Social History in Communist Bulgaria

Julian Chehirian, a young American scholar, presented his research on a thrilling, yet understudied field in Bulgarian social sciences: the social history of psychiatry and psychopathology under communism. His lecture was based on the findings of his ten-month period of anthropological fieldwork and archival research conducted in Bulgaria as a US Fulbright grantee in 2014–2015.


Julian Chehirian's (American University in Washington, D.C) special interests are anthropologies of consciousness and social histories of science and medicine, and his work is on the intersections of individual embodied experience and abstracted bodies of scientific knowledge about human minds and bodies. His past and present work examines philosophical and psychoanalytic concepts of intersubjectivity (psycho-developmental and psycho-social) as they can be applied to the study of social and political dimensions of experience.

## The Body Speaks: Excavating Psychological Crisis in the People's Republic of Bulgaria

What are the human and cultural consequences of a government's standardisation or suppression of approaches to mental healthcare? The lecture offered a critical inquiry into the social history of psychiatry and psychotherapy in Bulgaria. In 1950, a meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences catalysed a totalising transformation of psychiatry in the Eastern Bloc. An aggressively empirical, materialist and bio-physiologically oriented Pavlovian framework was declared at that meeting to be the only scientific approach to the study of psychology and the treatment of mental illness. In Bulgaria the decree was mirrored by a local Pavlovian committee and a re-orienting of national mental healthcare institutions and practices. 'Western', 'bourgeois', psychoanalytic and individual-centric therapeutic methods were suppressed. Theoretical and pedagogical materials were censored. The lecture examined how a communist-era restructuring of Bulgarian psychopathology affected individuals-in-crisis, seeking help and understanding about distressing psychological and bodily experiences. It explored how the suppression of an integrated psychosomatic approach to diagnosis and therapy led to a theoretical and experiential shift in the perceived locus of an individual's psychopathological symptoms. The lecture demonstrated how from the 1950s and onward the body increasingly became a surface for symptomatic 'idioms of distress' that narrowed both individuals' means of articulation and psychiatrists' methods of interpretation and diagnosis.

### What sparked your interest in the state of psychiatry and its history in communist Bulgaria?

**Julian Chehirian:** I studied the philosophy of language, mind and psychology as a university student. I eventually became interested in psychoanalysis as an intellectual tradition and a clinical practice. I became aware, however, that the current paradigm for mental healthcare in the United States is predominantly biomedical, pharmacological and cognitive-behavioural. This had little in common with psychoanalysis. I turned my attention to medical psychiatry as one of the dominant approaches to understanding and treating individuals with divergent, unstable and traumatic forms of experience. I began to work at a psychiatric hospital in Washington, D.C. – the first federally run institution of its type in the United States. I was able to both help individuals in my community and to observe how individuals' interior worlds were being understood and problematised clinically in that environment. This furthered my interest in the varying historical approaches used to identify, analyze and treat problems in an individual's body and mind. I had read reports by the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee and Amnesty International concerning structural issues with Bulgaria's mental health care system. I did not know much at all about the history of psychiatry in Bulgaria. My initial research and conversations with Bulgarians suggested that it was an underexamined issue—especially the legacy of psychiatry



during the communist period. While at first I was curious about the exploitation of psychiatric care for the political repression of individuals, over time I became increasingly interested in contributing to our broader understanding of the social experience of mental illness and the social history of psychiatry in Bulgaria, both of which have had turbulent and varied recent histories.

**Bulgaria, as a member country of the Eastern Bloc, was under Soviet influence. Did you have any prior knowledge of the state of the art of mental care in the former Soviet Union?**

**J. Ch.:** I studied the intellectual history of psychology in Russia and the Soviet Union. Preceding an explicit shift of interest away from the soul and towards the examination of the material and physiological underpinnings of human experience, heretical discourses in the Orthodox church made way for materially and bodily-focused speculations about the relationship between mind, soul and body. While Pavlov is known as the 'patron saint' of Soviet psychology, there was a longstanding tradition of interest in connections between physiology and psychology in Russia. The canonisation of Pavlov and his research is best represented by the 1950 'Pavlovian Session' of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. My research in Bulgaria was stimulated by the question of how this crucial event was mirrored in other socialist countries. This session

affirmed the unity of Pavlov's scientific teachings and Marxist-Leninist ideology and also differentiated the 'true' Pavlovian teaching from unorthodox interpretations. While this was the ideological narrative behind Soviet psychology and psychiatry, in practice these disciplines were empirical. My study of a Soviet psychiatric textbook from the 1940s indicated the total domination of physiological and pharmacological methods of treatment.

**What impact did the Soviet model of psychiatry leave on Bulgarian practice?**

**J. Ch.:** Bulgaria was one of the last countries in Eastern Europe to develop a modern medical psychiatric tradition. The period after the country's Liberation from Ottoman rule to 1944 was explosive in terms of growth and development, with the first psychiatric clinic opening in 1888. After the communist takeover in 1944 there was a reorganisation of the health services. Private practice was outlawed and an ideological reassessment of western psychological theory was initiated. Towards 1950, a Soviet model (*Pavlovsko uchenie*, i.e. the Pavlovian doctrine) became a standard for the instruction of students of psychiatry and for the scientific community. Alternatives to a bio-physiological approach to the analysis and treatment of pathological conditions, such as individual or group-based talk therapy, were censored and suppressed. The repression was

not completely successful, however. Certain practitioners (like Prof. Nikola Shipkovenski) endured harassment and persecution and contributed novel ideas that stimulated uniquely Bulgarian clinical approaches within the Soviet framework. If these were the effects of the Soviet model on the psychiatric profession, what about its effects on individuals who were in need of psychiatric consultation and treatment? The regime's practical and intellectual control over psychiatric science and clinical practice led to a reduction of the spectrum of possible therapies that individuals could access. Psychological distress became a medical issue requiring medical intervention in a medical environment. Psychiatric consultations in a polyclinic, for example, were subject to a ten-minute limitation – the same period of time allotted to other medical consultations. A Marxist-Leninist understanding of mental illness as a symptom of the capitalist system led to the marginalisation of social discourses about mental illness. During the communist period and still today, many Bulgarians suffer from lighter forms of mental illness but do not seek out help because of stigmatisation and disbelief that they have a problem. Heavier forms of mental illnesses form a social and cultural reference point for *ludost* (madness) and *ludnitsi* (lunatic asylums).

**What were the major differences between the Western and Soviet models in psychiatry?**

**J. Ch.:** One major difference with the Soviet model was its institutional context—a centralised, government-run healthcare system. This differs greatly from a free-market model, where private practitioners can offer a broad spectrum of treatments. The repression of psychoanalytic theories and methods in the Soviet bloc is a significant difference. Both Western and Soviet psychiatries developed along biomedical trajectories in the twentieth century, although it seems that there was a significant split in the development of psychology in these two worlds. In the Soviet world it sought to confirm Marxist-Leninist philosophy and ideology, whereas in the West it became a diverse and popular clinical alternative to pharmacological treatment (self-help books, on one end, and cognitive behavioral psychology, on the other, are examples). I don't mean to say that the abundance of possibilities for mental health care in a free market system were available to everyone in Western societies. Social class position limits individuals' access to opportunities for care. The insurance industry is an analogue to an institution that mediates individuals' access to practitioners and treatments.

**Did you locate any material proving the use of psychiatry for political repression in Bulgaria? Can you think of similar practices in the United States?**

**J. Ch.:** I encountered testimonies of Bulgarians who were subjected to involuntary treatment. These were often marginalised characters falling within a broad spectrum – an anarchist, a vagrant traveller, a homeless man, and Nikola Kazakov, the younger brother of the Bulgarian artist Dimitar Kazakov 'Neron'. Some were victims of unnecessary psychiatric hospitalisation.

The political abuse of psychiatry in communist Bulgaria has not been studied seriously and systematically yet. Dr Kiril Milenkov, a psychiatrist who worked at the *Fourth Kilometre* hospital, offers us some starting points. He notes that there was a special ward, purportedly for the

criminally insane, which psychiatrists on duty could not enter without the presence of a militia guard. The militia would not allow private consultations between these patients and their doctors. Psychiatrists were not allowed to make changes to their treatment plan. These were serious infractions upon one of the core principles of medical care in the Western world – confidentiality. The government's presence in this almost sanctified context is telling. Dr Milenkov tells us that artifacts of abuse, such as hospitalisation documents, are either non-existent or have been since destroyed. He also notes that practitioners of his generation are seldom willing to speak of these occurrences.

In the United States there is an awareness of psychiatric abuse, neglect and excess (as with lobotomy). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, minorities who did not integrate well were sometimes placed into assimilating institutions which included boarding schools and psychiatric hospitals. Native American and black American communities have been victims of institutional mechanisms for homogenising differences in their languages and cultures.

**What are your most interesting research findings here?**

**J. Ch.:** One of the most interesting questions emerging from my research is: what effects have the transformations of psychiatry and psychotherapy in Bulgaria had on people? How did these structural changes affect the trajectory of their illness, their understanding of it, and their potential to improve? A fascinating part of my research here has been talking to individuals who, at some point in their lives, had been in need of help to deal with psychological distress and instead were confronted with isolation. My most interesting findings have been interviews with individuals about their experiences with psychiatric care and psychotherapy. While an exhibition that I organised at the Red House in September 2015 examined the social history of psychiatry from a structural point of view, I have

also been collecting these individual narratives and testimonies. I am also interested in the status of talk-therapy during the communist period. I learned that a group of practitioners in the 1970s practiced individual-based talk therapy in secret, after official working hours, with adults in a children's clinic in Sofia. I learned about ways in which Bulgarian practitioners practiced psychoanalytic therapies by encoding their rationale in the necessary empirical and physiological discourse of the time.

**Your lecture at CAS was very well-attended. Did you receive questions or comments which would prove useful for your further studies?**

**J. Ch.:** There were great questions from people from different walks of life – psychiatrists, sociologists, anthropologists, journalists. Dr Daniela Koleva made a stimulating comment on what I had addressed as 'aggressive materialism' toward the study of mental problems. She mentioned that in the 1970s there had been a significant debate in the Soviet Union about materialism and the body which had been taken up philosophically. This is a topic which I would definitely like to explore. Another excellent question was about work therapy and to what extent it was practiced here. A study conducted in Vermont on hospitalised schizophrenic patients revealed that work might be fantastically effective as a therapeutic strategy. In Bulgaria, work therapy was part of the psychiatric practice. However, from what I read, it lacked proper organisation in hospitals.

**What are your academic plans once you return to the United States?**

**J. Ch.:** I may continue my study by examining the social history of mental illness in the United States. In general I would like to continue working at the intersection of anthropology and the histories of science and medicine. My next step may be a PhD programme. Let's see where things will take me.

*Interviewed by the Editor*



**Prof. Mary Neuburger** is a Professor of history, the Director of the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies (CREEES), and the Chair of Slavic and Eurasian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. She is the author of *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Cornell 2004), and *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria* (Cornell, 2012). She is also the co-editor with Paulina Bren of *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe* (Oxford, 2012) and has authored numerous articles on Bulgarian history on topics ranging from gender and material culture, to ethnic identity, and consumption. She is currently co-editor with Dr Richard Evans of the *Journal of Contemporary History*.

Prof. Neuburger gave a highly engaged talk, delving into the history of tobacco as part of the history of consumption in Southeastern Europe and the Americas, and exploring its links to the larger, transnational story. Her talk introduced the audience to the symbolic meaning of tobacco constructed by the advertising industry, and the changes it underwent, from a token of modernity, European-ness and gender equality in the early twentieth-century Balkans, to backwardness at present. Tobacco, in the form of alluring cigarette brands, also emerged as an ideological tool deployed by the West to penetrate the otherwise impenetrable societies behind 'the Iron Curtain'. At the same time, Bulgarian tobacco, Bulgaria's 'gold', was taking off on the international market and supplied the communist state with influence as well as financial resources.

Prof. Neuburger explored the development of cigarette marketing in Bulgaria and the USA in the context of contrasting systemic restraints and objectives. She examined the ways in which marketing of cigarettes in communist Bulgaria gained momentum in the same period that cigarette advertising within the USA was severely curtailed. She demonstrated how notions of the 'good life' versus the 'common good' under communism informed varied discourses and practices related to both smoking and advertising.



On 7<sup>th</sup> July 2016, CAS warmly welcomed Professor Mary Neuburger for a public lecture on

## The Cold War Cigarette: Tobacco Advertising and East-West Encounters

# An American's View on Bulgaria and the Balkans

## An Interview with Professor Mary Neuburger



**Professor Neuburger, this is not your first visit to Bulgaria and you had a chance to witness its changes over time. How would you evaluate the country's development over the last two decades?**

**Prof. Mary Neuburger:** I first came to Bulgaria in 1993 and have revisited the country probably fifteen or sixteen times by now. In 1993, one could see a growing division of wealth here, but there was a less developed middle class. Sofia has changed dramatically since then: the country's infrastructure is more advanced; there are many restaurants, cafés, and stores around. For me, personally, the biggest development has been in the service industry. But then, other things seem to stay – the place is still the same; it is still Sofia, Bulgaria.

**How did an American academic choose Southeastern Europe as the target for her career?**

**M.N.:** Sometimes I wonder if I chose it or it chose me. I have been asked frequently why I study Bulgaria and whether I am Bulgarian. Well, I am not... I started studying Russian in high-school and earned an undergraduate degree in Russian Studies at the University of Oregon. Studying the former Soviet Union and East European bloc was particularly interesting as this is a place where cultures and systems collide and interact in interesting ways. The Balkans, in particular, stirred my imagination as a crossroads for Europe and Asia, for Christianity and Islam. I came to Bulgaria as a graduate student because of my interest in Slavic languages and cultures, and I loved it here. There was something about the food in particular that piqued

my appetite ... This may sound superficial but I am studying Bulgarian food now in historical perspective and so I seemed to have come full circle. And then there was the landscape, the mountains, the sea, the density of cultures. One can travel a few hours and be in Romania, or Macedonia, or Albania, encountering totally different cultural environments. Also, I find there is something special about Bulgaria – a sort of unpretentiousness, perhaps. This all adds up for me to come back here each year. I got 'hooked'.

**You teach East and Southeast European history to American students. What are their most common questions regarding the Region, and what are the misconceptions you have to deal with?**

**M.N.:** Most American undergraduates know next to nothing about Central and Eastern Europe. Often when they come to my courses, they expect them to be on all of Europe, but they generally remain in the course anyway. In the beginning of the semester, I often ask my students to take a piece of paper and draw a map of Southeastern Europe. The results are disastrous. Once, a student placed Estonia in the region, confusing the Balkans with the Baltics. Anyway, at the beginning of my course, I will start with the basics, with geography, and with what 'Slavic' means, for example. Many of my students do know about the Second World War and other bigger events that frame European history, and they start drawing connections to Southeastern Europe. It opens up a new realm of discovery for them, and they want to learn more. For those who do something about the region, there are often misconceptions. In the







past, some students linked the Balkans to backwardness and violence in history. But I often ask, is there any place where such violence has not occurred?! Now I tell the younger generations about these misconceptions that still lurk among older generations, and then dispel them. The new generation of students was not even born when the Yugoslav wars broke out. Some of them are students whose parents came from the region.

**Your first book in 2004 was called *The Orient Within*, and explored the Muslim minorities in Bulgaria and the problematics of modern nationhood. What were your first impressions of the different ethnic groups when you did your fieldwork in the country?**

**M.N.:** When I was doing my fieldwork in the 1990s, I couldn't always tell a Turk or 'Pomak' from a Bulgarian. I met people, talked to them, had a chance to taste the food they were eating, and their everyday cultures didn't seem remarkably different to me. There was a shared Balkan culture in many respects. One thing that was startlingly different was that Bulgarians in rural areas tended to be of the older generation, though their children and grandchildren from the cities would often visit. In contrast, the minority populations had more vibrant multi-generational rural communities. Things have definitely changed now, of course. Even among these communities their children have migrated to the big cities.

But there was a social line separating the different groups which I experienced very starkly on one occasion. The case I am talking about was a rural Pomak family who I was staying with. They had

a daughter who had a secret affair with a Bulgarian man from Blagoevgrad. She hadn't told her parents as they would have never allowed this relationship. When I found out she begged me not to tell them.

**As an outside observer, has this shared Balkan culture been preserved or altered over time?**

**M.N.:** It depends on where you are. In some cases the differences among the minority groups seem to have softened as more of the young generation have been educated in Bulgaria or abroad, or have been urbanised. But in other areas democracy seems to have articulated distinctions in identity, so that in the post-communist era identity became even more important to the minorities and perhaps, to everyone. This is one of the ironies of globalisation: it creates situations where identity becomes either more amorphous, or more accentuated.

**Your latest book is on tobacco and the tobacco industry in the Region and under communism, in particular. What new do we learn about the Bulgarian communist economy from a 'smoker's perspective'?**

**M.N.:** Traditionally, and especially since 1989, the history of the communist economy has been written from the point of view of inefficiencies and collapse. Certainly during the Cold War, especially by the 1980s, there seemed to me a popular perception of systemic failure. However, if one looks at American and international tobacco journals of the same era they refer to the development of the tobacco industry in Bulgaria as 'the Bulgarian phe-

nomenon', and attempt to understand the secret of its achievements. In fact, Bulgaria had been given the green light to develop this industry in the Eastern bloc as it was the major supplier of cigarettes to the Soviet Union. Indeed, it had both the tools and technologies of the West, and the trade connections to the East. Thus, the tobacco industry became an incredibly successful venture in the 1960s and 70s. With all of the other shortages in the communist era, it is notable that there was no shortage of cigarettes...

**In a few hours, you are going to board the plane to the USA. What new topics are there on your research agenda?**

**M.N.:** For years now my research focus has been on commodities and consumption – namely tobacco, but also its most popular accompaniments coffee and alcohol. Currently I am building on such interest to work on a cultural history of food and drink in Bulgaria. With each commodity, there is a new set of issues at play, and so research on food connects to cuisine, but also to issues like gender, health, etiquette, agriculture, food supply chains and even hunger. 'Food is everything', as Prof. Raina Gavrilova so aptly noted when we recently had a lovely lunch in Sofia. She is just one of numerous Bulgarian scholars who are also interested in the growing field of food studies. This is such a rich topic that my challenge is now to decide what to include and leave out of my book in progress. I hope to come back to CAS one day and share my new research with you.

Interviewed by the Editor

# A Change of Plans: New Perspectives on Bulgaria's Command Economy

28 July 2016



The planned economy of state socialism, called also 'command economy' for its attempted isolation from the impacts of free market forces, has been somewhat of a curiosity for Western economists and a considerable challenge for its own architects and managers. In the Cold War era, many scholars were prompted to see this economic system and the bureaucratic apparatus that steered it as a monolithic structure subordinated to the party vision, which in turn was dominated by ideological rather than strictly economic considerations. However, the access to previously classified archival documents has opened up unforeseen opportunities to test and revisit this perspective. Studying the evidence left by multiple state organisations revealed that behind the façade of what was perceived as a 'mono-organisational society' (in the words of T. H. Rigby), there was a plethora of competing interests and motivations inside the system – institutions, expected to cooperate tightly, would rather follow their intrinsic rationales and often clash with each other. If until recently dissonance and friction were attributed only to dissident forces, now they were recognised as originating also from inside the state apparatus – and not only in the midst of reformers and hostile fractions but also from loyal functionaries and well managed entities. And while the party had declared its centrally administered economy a success in overcoming free-market competition of capitalism, much competition was identified among state-run enterprises and entire economic sectors, albeit less visible and open. Finally, if in retrospect the planned economy was pronounced a failure, research shows that its story is not only about losers – many actors successfully navigated the system and performed quite well within its limits, bent its rules or used them to their own advantage, hijacked cautious reforms and pushed them one step further. While closet entrepreneurs did not shy away from emulating Western business practices, even party hardliners had to accept some ideological compromises in order to adapt to the increasingly globalised world economy.

Focusing exclusively on the case of socialist Bulgaria to traverse the complex institutional terrain of state planning and management, the CAS workshop *A Change of Plans: New Perspectives on Bulgaria's Command Economy* attempted to explore and intersect various institutional agendas and modes of operation which the presumably unified bureaucracy of state socialism had accommodated. The workshop was convened by Dr Elitza Stanoeva, Dr Jan Zofka and Dr Victor Petrov, and each presentation explored a different arena of the planned economy – the bank system, the bread-making manufacturing, the heavy industry, the trade network, the international transportation, the cultural production, and the cybernetic sector. The discussion outlined common patterns, channels of administrative interaction, systemic problems and spillover effects.

Tackling the more general question how planning itself functioned as an economic mechanism, Todor Hristov analysed the entailed problems of profitability and 'veridiction' (collection, assessment and verification of information on economic performance). Starting his analysis from the autoreferentiality of plan fulfillment reports (where final figures were adjusted to fit targets instead of representing actual production), Hristov demonstrated that the drive behind the economic reforms from 1963 onwards was precisely to transform this lack of knowledge into 'knowledge of unknowns'. In the process profit was redefined as a 'gift' and it was the introduction of a gift economy and not market elements that was at the core of these reform experiments according to Hristov's analysis.

Through a detailed discussion of the institutional evolution of the Bulgarian National Bank based on its rich archival repository, Roumen Avramov analysed the nature of the socialist monobank as a 'monetary system without money' and the destabilising effects of the attempted economic reforms in the post-Stalinist era. Tracking the creeping inflationary processes and the political decision-making in the crisis times of the late 1980s, he emphasised the



divergent understandings and objectives of technocrats and party functionaries. Avramov concluded by summarising the legacy of this financial system on the transition in the 1990s.

Shifting to the production sphere of the planned economy, Jan Zofka discussed the 'great leap forward' of industrialisation as an essentially national project which however evolved in a transnational realm of exchange of expertise and technology among socialist states. Focusing on the institutions involved on the Bulgarian side, he tried to map their roles and patterns of interaction by pinpointing the specific logics of each actor based on a prevalence of commercial or political considerations. Zofka concluded that the socialist industrialisation was a multi-centred development rather than a process guided from a single power centre.

Elitza Stanoeva delved into the aspect of socialist commerce explicating the clash between the economic rationales of producers and trade enterprises imposed on them by the plan targets. Whereas the former were preoccupied with cost efficiency and hence strove to economise resources and maximise output in purely quantitative terms, the latter strove to increase turnover and therefore were impelled to respond to customer demand and guarantee a better quality of commodities. The struggle to raise quality was indeed integral to the party agenda of satisfying the material needs of people but it could not be reconciled with the other objective of egalitarian supply and consumption.

Gravitating around the problems of trade, Emilia Karaboeva's talk focused on the international shipping of goods and particularly on the dual role of the state truck company *SO MAT*: while enhancing the economy by pooling hard currency into it, it also undermined the latter by a range of illicit practices. Depicting the peculiar figure of the truck driver, Karaboeva showed that he – as this was as a rule a male profession – was both a recipient of the state distributed privilege of mobility and access to desir-

able goods, and a pioneer of advertising Western advancement at home.

Theodora Dragostinova turned the angle from the material to the cultural production looking into the state organised anniversary of 1300 Years Bulgaria in 1981 against the background of incipient globalisation wherein culture emerged as an important battleground of conflicting ideologies. Dragostinova analysed particularly the Bulgarian cultural export related to the celebration and its moulding within a common civilisational discourse where universal values took precedence over political propaganda. Wrapping up the massive foreign programme of the Bulgarian jubilee, she introduced the notion of a 'command culture' similar in its management to the command economy.

The final presentation of Victor Petrov dealt with another globalising industry in the 1970s and 1980s – electronics and computer technologies – and the emergence of a genuine 'socialist business class' within its bounds. Blurring the Cold War ideological divide in a variety of ways – from technology thefts to joint ventures with Western firms – Bulgarian electronic industry proved to be flourishing under the conditions of the planned economy especially because of price-setting in the five-year plans that safeguarded high profits for electronic goods with fast depreciation. In light of the transformation of this industry and its experts, Petrov questioned the conventional timeline of communism's end.





## October 2015

**05 October 2015**

Opening of the New Academic Year 2015–2016

**16 October 2015**

**CAS Discussion Series:**

Existential Socialism: Ageing under Socialism

## November 2015

**12 November 2015**

**Fellow Seminar**

Assoc. Prof. Moris Fadel, *The Success Story of Communism: The Spy Novel*

**26 November 2015**

**Fellow Seminar**

Prof. Alexander Kanev, *Human Understanding: Finitude, Incommensurability, and Plurality*

**27 November 2015**

**CAS Discussion Series:**

Existential Socialism: Ageing under Socialism

## December 2015

**03 December 2015**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Raluca Golesteanu, *Imagining the Periphery: the Small Jewish Town in the Eyes of Max Blecher (Romania) and Bruno Schulz (Poland)*

## January 2016

**14 January 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Maria Kalinova, *Cryptography in the Bulgarian Revival Correspondence from the 1830s and 1840s*

## February 2016

**10 February 2016**

**Book Launch**

South-Eastern European Monetary and Economic Statistics from the Nineteenth Century to World War II (2014)

**18 February 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Yannis Kallianos, *Infrastructures, Social Justice and Legitimacy: An Analysis of the Crisis of Political Legitimacy in Greece, Based on a Study of Contested Public Infrastructures, 2010–2014*

## March 2016

**23 March 2016**

**Advanced Academia Public Lecture**

Dr Elka Dimitrova, *The Marginal Intellectual*

**30 March 2016**

**Advanced Academia Public Lecture**

Prof. Alexander Kanev, *Human Understanding: Finitude, Incommensurability, and Plurality*

## April 2016

**06 April 2016**

**Advanced Academia Public Lecture**

Assoc. Prof. Moris Fadel, *The Success Story of Communism: The Spy Novel*

**07 April 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Veronika Dimitrova, *'The Homeless' and Co-operative Development: Economic Aspects of the Housing Policies in Sofia in the Interwar Period*

**13 April 2016**

**Advanced Academia Public Lecture**

Dr Maria Kalinova, *Cryptography in the Bulgarian Revival Correspondence from the 1830s. and 1840s*

**14 April 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Elitza Stanoeva, '1,300 Years Bulgaria' and '750 Years Berlin': *Comparing National and International Objectives in Late-Socialist Anniversary Celebrations*

**20 April 2016**

**Advanced Academia Public Lecture**

Dr Dimitrina Popova, *Vernacular Urban Design Networks in the Post-Socialist Public Spaces between the Prefabricated Concrete Apartment Buildings of Sofia*

**21 April 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Assoc. Prof. Dimitar Vatsov, *What Do We Do When We Say 'This Is the Truth!'?*

**27 April 2016**

**Advanced Academia Public Lecture**

Dr Konstantin Golev, *Witch-Hunt in the Court of the Great Khan – Magic, Superstition and their Political Usage in the Mongol Empire in the Thirteenth Century*

**May 2016**

**12 May 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Prof. Irina Genova, *Bulgaria's Perspective on Art from Beyond the Iron Curtain during the 1960s. An After-History of Art*

**19 May 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Hili Razinsky, *Ambivalence: A Philosophical Exploration*

**June 2016**

**09 June 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Iurii Zazuliak, *Landscape, Law and Memory: Forging the Local Tradition and the Perambulations of Estates' Boundaries in the Kingdom of Poland during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*

**16 June 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Jan Zofka, *A Transnational History of Socialist Industrialisation – the Bulgarian 'Economic Leap' (1956/58–1960)*

**30 June 2016**

**Fellow Seminar**

Dr Anni Ilkov, *Creative Change (The Social History of a New Literary Writing, 1989–2014)*

**July 2016**

**07 July 2016**

**CAS Guest Lecture Series**

Prof. Mary C. Neuburger, *The Cold War Cigarette: Tobacco Advertising and East-West Encounter.*

**28 July 2016**

**CAS Fellows Workshop**

Dr Elitza Stanoeva, Dr Jan Zofka and Dr Victor Petrov, *A Change of Plans: New Perspectives on Bulgaria's Command Economy*





